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MARATHA RULE IN THE CARNATIC

BY

C. K. SRINIVASAN, M.A., B.L., M. Litt.

INTRODUCTION

BY

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Director of Archives, Government of India.

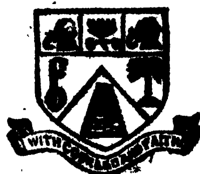
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FOREWORD.

Foreword by Dr. S. N. SEN, M.A., Ph. D., B. LITT. (OXON.)
Director of Archives, Government of India.

To introduce a young author to his readers is a pleasure and a duty, for the future of history lies with the youth.

Mr. C. K. Srinivasan does not claim to have broken new ground. His is an arresting theme of abiding interest. The story of Maratha expansion and collapse in the Karnatak will bear repeated recounting. If older scholars have previously tried their hands at it, there is no reason why a younger student should not attempt to bring the scattered fragments of information together and give a fuller account of the titanic struggle. Very likely others will tread in his footsteps; but it will be long before the last word is said, for the subject is baffling in its immensity and the characters are bewildering in their diversity. What a splendid cavalcade crosses our mental vision : Shriranga and Tirumal, Shahji and Khan Muhammad, Aurangzib and Shivaji, Ekoji and Raghunath Narayan, Harji Raja and Keshav Pingle, Pralhad Niraji and Zulfikar Khan, the first Nizam and Raghuji Bhonsle, Muhammad Ali and Chanda Saheb, Hyder Ali and Murari Rao, Clive and Dupleix, Coote and Lally, the rear being nobly kept by that man of God, Christian Friedrich Schwartz, whose spiritual mission

did not preclude him from taking an active part in contemporary politics. What passions urged them in their mortal pursuits, what ideals did they strive after, what objects did they cherish? Was Shahji the vanguard of resurgent Hinduism in Karnatak or was he one of the common adventurers of his times, fishing in troubled waters, intent on self-aggrandizement? Was it honest indignation at his master's shortcomings that drove Raghunath Narayan to desert the court of Tanjore or was it a mean lust for lucre and prospects of power and pelf that urged him on his way to Raigarh? It is commonly believed that Aurangzib's invasion contributed to Maratha solidarity and infused the infant state with fresh vigour and renewed vitality. Mr. Srinivasan's account does not leave any doubt that the consequent impoverishment led to the loss of the cradle of Maratha power in the Karnatak and the cession of important sea-ports to the merchant nations of the west who subsequently became the arbiters of India's fate. The Maratha rulers retained their grip over Tanjore long after the initial set-back and if in the face of renewed aggression they stooped to prevarication and double-tracking, they simply responded to the natural instinct of self-preservation. The princes of Tanjore were no doubt autocrats, with the common ruling weaknesses of their times; but they have left a rich cultural legacy. To convert a small hamlet into a noble seat of

learning is no mean achievement and whatever their failings as rulers of men, the patrons of "Modern Patanjali" and "Andhra Kalidas" did not live in vain. The dynasty has gone the way of older lines, but the Saraswati Mahal Library still testifies to its love of learning and patronage of art.

Mr. Srinivasan has done well to present to his countrymen a most readable account of the rise and fall of the Maratha power in Peninsular India.

Imperial Records Department,
New Delhi,
1st February, 1945.

S. N. SEN.

PREFATORY NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

This treatise is an attempt at a succinct survey of the fortunes of the Marathas in South India from the days of Shahji's campaigns in the Mysore plateau and in the Carnatic and on through the fortunes of the rule of his successors at Tanjore down to the extinction of the Tanjore Raj by the British Government in 1855. It is based upon a study of much the larger part of sources, primary as well as secondary, and aims at giving what Dr. Sen has so happily worded, a most readable account of the rise and fall of the Maratha Power in Peninsular India.

The book is an amplification, in some respects, of a thesis for the degree of Master of Letters, submitted to and approved by the Annamalai University some years back. It is a matter for considerable gratification for the editor and the author that Dr. S. N. Sen., Director of Archives, Government of India, should have generously written an appreciative foreword and in other ways helped in improving the book.

It is regretted that, in spite of great care taken, a number of errors should have crept in the course of printing.

Annamalai University,
ANNAMALAINAGAR,
15—2—1945.

C. S. SRINIVASACHARI,
Editor.

FOREWORD

TO students of Indian History, the Maratha period is one of absorbing interest, for in it they meet with soldiers, statesmen and saints who by their conquests, consolidation and catholicity, welded together the scattered elements of a mighty race and presented to posterity the pattern of a nation, at once brave, independent and zealous of its own rights and duties. Even while serving a foreign master, Shahji Bhonsle showed his countrymen the glorious and victorious part they have to play in the years to come; and the task of gathering the Marathas together was taken up by his famous son Shivaji who gave them an impregnable home and a durable government. This mighty race, reared to virility through blood and battle, became a formidable weapon in the hands of the Peshwas in their wars with the neighbouring empires.

Thus in the North, chiefly through the genius of their leaders, the Marathas marched from victory to victory. They humbled the Nizam and created consternation to the Great Mughal by entering Imperial Delhi and the surrounding territory. But in the South they were not as militant or aggressive. The history of the Maratha Rule in the Carnatic begins with the occupation of Tanjore in 1676 by Vyankaji, the son of Shahji, and ends in 1855 when the Tanjore Raj was incorporated

into the British Dominion. Tanjore, like Pataliputra, was the capital of successive dynasties. It was the capital and a centre of culture and learning under, the Imperial Cholas, then under the Nayaks and lastly under the Marathas. Thus, the banks of the Cauvery, became the home of learned men owing to the encouragement given by the dynasties that ruled from Tanjore. I have tried to give a connected account of the part played by the Marathas in the Carnatic, their administrative organisation, and their contribution to art and literature, from a study of the available material.

It now remains for me to acknowledge the help I have received in the preparation of this work. I cannot be too grateful to my Professor, Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari, who guided my work and allowed me to share his rich knowledge of history and the historical method without stint. I am obliged to Dr. Surendranath Sen, Director of Archives, Government of India, for his valuable Introduction to this book. My thanks are also due to Mr. N. D. Varadachariar, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Mylapore, for his many suggestions. To my University which kindly undertook the publication of my thesis I am deeply indebted.

SIMLA,
November, 1944.

C. K. SRINIVASAN.

INTRODUCTORY.

The activities of the Marathas in South India from the early part of the 17th century to the final extinction of their rule at Tanjore in 1855, constitute a most arresting chapter in Indian History, inasmuch as they reveal to us the marked success which attended their arms and their genius for administrative organisation. The ability of the Maratha soldier and the capacity of the Maratha administrator were very early recognized, and the successive dynasties that ruled in South India, like the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagar monarchs, employed them in large numbers in their services. It was but natural that this example was copied by the Ahmadnagar and Bijapur Sultans and the Marathas played a very prominent part in the administrative and military departments of these Sultanates. Thus when the ground was slowly prepared, and when many Maratha families had acquired a good training, the coming into prominence of Shahji, the soldier of fortune, inspired his countrymen with a new ambition, for they found in him a new hope and thought of him as the champion of the Hindu cause in South India.

Slowly but steadily he acquired great recognition and his services were sought after by the Sultans. As the general of the Bijapur Sultan, between the years 1636 and 1661, he extended the authority of his master first in the Mysore country, and then in the lower Carnatic, going as far south as Tanjore. Ikkeri, Sira, Bangalore, Seringapatam, Gingee, Tanjore, Tegnapatam and Porto Novo—all these were brought under Bijapur sway largely by Shahji's efforts. Both Shahji and Shivaji sought independently to make the Marathas a great nation—the one as a general of Bijapur and the other as the enemy of Bijapur. Shahji's activities in the south, during the years when Sriranga III (1642–1672) tried most heroically to infuse some life into the moribund Vijayanagar Empire, and in which attempt he was heavily handicapped by the recalcitrant attitude of his feudatories, paved the way for the final establishment of the Tanjore Maratha Principality. "In fact Shahji deserves to be styled the founder of the Maratha rule in Southern India, as his famous son, Shivaji proved to be the founder of the Maratha Empire in India."[1] The candle which was thus lit by Shahji in the south burned with sustained brilliancy, especially in and around Tanjore

[1] Dr. Balkrishna: *Shivaji*, Pt. I, p. 166.

for nearly two centuries. If Maratha royalty expressed itself in the north by the splendour of its conquests and expansion, it ushered in a most remarkable renaissance on the banks of the Cauvery, which gave to South India some of the most imperishable contributions in music, philosophy, literature and art.

A connected and detailed narrative of the rise and fulfilment of Maratha rule in the Carnatic country has not yet been attempted, and only passing references are made by 19th century historians like Grant Duff, Orme, Fullarton, Mill and Wilks. The late Dr. Balkrishna has given a thorough sketch of the career of Shahji and it is a fairly good account of the founder of the Maratha Raj in the south. But the most arresting event which attracted the attention of historians was the Carnatic expedition of Shivaji, and a valuable analysis of it based on a study of all available records is found in Sir Jadunath Sarkar's 'Shivaji.' His view that the object of the expedition was the plunder of the accumulated treasure of the Carnatic can no longer be accepted; for a critical examination of Martin's *Memoirs*, the English Factory Records, and the Letters of the Madura Mission shows that Shivaji had, as his supreme aim, the conquest of

the Carnatic and not the mere appropriation of its riches. Indeed his was a great attempt at the creation of a mighty Hindu Empire.

As regards the history of the collateral branch founded by Vyankaji in 1676, Hickey gives a brief outline of the fortunes of this dynasty in his book *The Tanjore Maratha Principality.* Although the book is so named, it begins from earlier days, gives an account of the Chola and Nayakan rulers, and in one chapter disposes of the Maratha kings. It is chronologically defective, sketchy in its details, lacks precision, and does not contain any reference to the cultural side of Maratha rule, although some of the relevant documents, and Christian missionary efforts in Tanjore are given in detail. Venkasami Rao after examining the various documents has given a good account of the Maratha Rajas in his *Manual of the Tanjore District*, and the *Tanjore Gazetteer* is only a summary of it. But the pioneer work in the field is the 'Maratha Rajas of Tanjore' by Mr. K. R. Subramanyan; and it contains in addition to the general history, chapters on the administration and literary activities of the period. In the following pages an attempt has been made to give a connected account, based on a study of literary and inscriptional evidences, of the part played

by the Marathas in the south from the time of Shahji to the year 1855 when the Tanjore Raja was liquidated. The whole period bubbles with vitality in every aspect of life, military, cultural and otherwise.

The principal sources available for the history of this period, though diverse, can be broadly classified under four categories, *viz*; (*a*) Letters and Correspondence between the Native powers and the English Company at Fort St. George, as well as the reports of the various Commissions appointed to investigate Tanjore affairs; (*b*) indigenous works in Sanskrit, Marathi, Tamil and Persian; (*c*) accounts of foreigners and missionaries, both Jesuit and Lutheran; and (*d*) epigraphic evidence. Under the first category may also be included the works of the early British historians like Orme, Mill, Fullarton, Wilks and Grant Duff. These historians portray the part played by Tanjore in the Anglo-French struggle in the Carnatic. But the account given by Robert Orme in his *magnum opus*—'History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745'—is the most precious one, for it carries with it the stamp of contemporaneity, accuracy and thoroughness and provides for us in the most picturesque language the siege of Trichinopoly, the fate

of Chanda Sahib, the part played by Tanjore and her general Manaji, the activities of Murari Rao Ghorpade, the gallant Maratha soldier, and connected details. The other important work of Orme, namely—'*Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Morattoes and of the English Concerns in Indostan from the year 1659*'—which was the fruit of great labour involving the study and interpretation of books and old records many of them being in the Portuguese, Dutch and Italian languages, throws light on the southern expedition of Shivaji, discusses roughly the capture of Tanjore by Vyankaji, and also speaks about Harji Mahadik, the militant Maratha viceroy of Gingee. About the Letters of the English Factories containing references to the historical events of that period, Sir Jadunath Sarkar indicates their great value and concludes thus:—"The English Records are extremely valuable, being absolutely contemporary with the events described and preserved without any change or garbling. The English traders sometimes engaged spies to get correct news of Shivaji. There is no such old or authentic material in Marathi." While it is impossible to deny the historical value of these documents, it is too much to claim absolute accuracy for them,

for according to Dr. Paranjpye, the English Records in spite of being contemporary and carefully preserved "do not record events with a punctilious regard for accuracy either to dates or facts."[1] Anyhow it must be conceded that these records have greatly helped us to reconstruct our history. The '*English Factories*' which contain letters that passed through the various Factories in India and edited by Sir M. Foster is most invaluable inasmuch as they give us the historical events between the years 1618 and 1677. In one of these letters it is said that Sriranga III, the last Vijayanagar Emperor died in 1672.[2] Besides these the reports of various Commissions appointed to inquire into the affairs of Tanjore at such critical years as 1777 and 1799 are very valuable.

Fairly reliable information can be gathered from works in Marathi, Sanskrit, Tamil, and Persian languages. Professor Sarkar places no great credence on the accounts given in the Marathi *Bakhars* and his faith in the truthfulness of Persian chronicles is as great as it is in the accounts of the Factory records. About the *Sabhasad*, Sarkar has no good opinion to offer. Indeed, he

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[1] *English Records on Shivaji*—Introduction p. 42.

[2] Ibid, p. 232. The letter was written from Fort St. George and is dated 16th December 1672.

thinks that "the half-obliterated memory of an old man who had passed through many privations" could not have impartially sifted facts and analysed them with the true historical perspective.[1] When such is the feeling towards the shortest, the best and the most accurate of the *Bakhars*, Sarkar's aversion for other works like the *Chitnis* and the *91-Kalmi Bakhar* need hardly be expatiated upon. May be that these works indulge in grotesque exaggeration while dealing with the life of the hero, and thereby amaze the ardent student of history. But there is no denying the fact that they are useful for a right insight into the activities of Shahji and Shivaji. Mention must also be made in this connection of the great value of the *Jedhe Chronology* for the early period of Maratha history. Some of the Maratha families maintained *Shakavalis* or year-to-year accounts, and the *Jedhe Chronology*, a bare record of events with dates covering the period 1618-1697 A.D. kept by the Jedhes, Deshmukhs of Kari near Bhor, gives a good summary of the history of this period chronologically arranged. Professor Sarkar speaks of the *Jedhe Chronology* as "a new and very valu-

[1] Rajwade has also no faith in the accounts of the Bakhars and he says that they contain only a few "particles of truth floating in a sea of absurdity."

able source for the political history of this most interesting and least known formative period of the Maratha State" (i.e., 17th century). "Its information on some very minute and otherwise unknown points is corroborated in a surprising degree by the English Factory Records, which no Maratha fabricator could have read." "There have crept in some evident mistakes, which we can detect with the help of English and Persian sources; but they were due to the copyist and not to any deliberate fabrication."

Among the Sanskrit works, '*Shiva Bharat*' by the poet Paramananda is the most authentic and accurate one, and it gives a very good picture of Shahji's life in the Carnatic and describes his conquests in these parts. Although the work is incomplete, its historical frame-work "is found to be remarkably accurate, confirmed as it is, at places, by contemporary records, Maratha or English."[1] Little confusion is noticed in the arrangement of facts, and on the whole the work may be said to embody a good account of Shahji and Shivaji. The next important Sanskrit work is the, *Radha-Madhava-Vilasa-Champu* written by Jayaram Pandit who

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[1] Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *A Source-Book of Maratha History*: p. 2.

visited Shahji when he lived in Bangalore as the Governor of the possessions of Bijapur in the Carnatic. Although the historical information obtained from this prose-poem is meagre, still there are references to Shahji's expedition against Mir Jumla and against the various chiefs of the Carnatic and against the Firangis (presumably the Portuguese of Goa) and to his being a Sissodia Rajput; and it contains also a comparison between Shahji and Shah Jahan.[1] We also gather from Jayaram Pandit about Shahji's learning and about the numerous Pandits who adorned his court at Bangalore. During the rule of the Tanjore Maratha kings a large number of Sanskrit works were brought out, of which the *Dharmakuta*, *Kamakalanidhi* and *Sarabhoji Charitram* contain historical references. These works may not be held to be truly historical sources because they are marked by elements of romance, imagination and praise of the heroes, but still they are very useful in supplying reliable information on some points. The Tanjore rulers who were heirs to the spirit bequeathed by the Nayakans, continued their traditions, and the civilization of the age is clearly seen in the literature of the period. Above all, the Sarasvati Mahal Library which is a veritable store-house of

[1] Patwardhan and Rawlinson. *op. cit.*, p. 22.

knowledge, is most indispensable to the student of history, because it contains the literary works of authors spread over three and a half centuries. The collections which were begun 'as early as the 15th century (about 1450) were continued both by the Nayaks and their successors, the Marathas. And the change of rule from the Nayaks to the Marathas did not, as is usual with alien invasions, produce any serious unsettlement in the existing social and other conditions of the people of the land. Military successes have always meant a full stop, for a temporary period at any rate, of all lines of progress, particularly in *belles lettres*, art and other non-political activities of the vanquished. This was never the case with Tanjore; and the Maratha rulers seem to have been even greater and more enthusiastic patrons of literature and art than their predecessors.'[1]

Persian records supply us information regarding the activities of Shahji Bhonsle in the Carnatic, as a general of the Bijapur Sultan. The first is the *Basatin-u's-Salatin* written in 1824 by Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi, who had no knowledge of the existence of the

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[1] P. P. S. Sastri: *Descriptive Catalogue of the Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library*, Introduction.

Muhammad Nama; and it deals with the history of the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur. The *Muhammad Nama of Zahur*, discovered by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the Kapurthala Library, gives an excellent account of the reign of Muhammad Adil Shah, king of Bijapur and is an indispensable work for the construction of the career of Shahji under Bijapur Sultans. Both the *Muhammad Nama* and the *Basatin-u's-Salatin* contain the same information; but while the former is characterised by a simplicity of style, the latter is highflown in style and colourful in presentation. There is another valuable Persian historical account entitled the *Tuzak-i-Walajahi*[1] compiled by Burhanuddin, the son of Hasan and a courtier of the well-known Nawab Muhammad Ali. The date of its compilation is 1195 A.H. (A.D. 1780-81) and the narrative, though exaggerated, is of some value "as a supplement to the available histories of the period, which are, perhaps, based somewhat too exclusively on European sources of information."

The *Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, the Dubash of Dupleix, which has been translated by Price and Dodwell is full of historical

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[1] Translated into English by Dr. M. Hussain Nainar of the Madras University.

facts, and deals most vividly the events of the Anglo-French struggle in the Carnatic.[1] Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary "stands unique as a record of the inmost thoughts and reflections of an extremely able, level-headed oriental, and of his criticisms—which at times are of the freest character—of his fellows and masters. It is a strange mixture of things trivial and important; of family matters and affairs of state; of business transactions and social life of the day; interspersed with the scrips of gossip, all evidently recorded as they came to the mind of the Diarist who might well be dubbed the "Indian Pepys." "As a record, the diary, though perhaps in parts dull reading, is on the whole a deeply interesting and probably valuable account of things historical, political and social, appertaining to the period embracing the rise, the zenith and the beginning of the decline of the French Power in India."[2] In addition to this, there is a Mackenzie Ms. in Taylor's *Oriental Historical Mss.* which notices three relevant Tamil records. The

[1] Rao Saheb Professor C. S. Srinivasachariar has collected all the historical material from Pillai's *Diary* and has enriched them with historical notes in his book entitled *Ananda Ranga Pillai, The Pepys of French India* [1940].

[2] Introduction to Ananda Ranga Pillai's *Diary*, Vol. I, pp. 10, 11.

first is the *Carnātaka Désa Rājākkal Savistāra Charita*[1] by one Narayana Kone, an indigenous 18th century South Indian annalist, and it throws much light on Shivaji's southern expedition, the Carnatic wars and the history of Gingee. Narayana is of opinion that Shivaji undertook the Carnatic expedition in order to save South India from the depredations of the Musulmans and make Dharma live again.[2] The other records referred to are *the Tanjore Bhonsle Kings*[3] and an account of the *Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*.[4]

The accounts given by the foreigners and the Jesuit missionaries form an invaluable adjunct for historical interpretation and they provide ample material for the thoughtful student. The best contemporary foreign account of the Carnatic expedition of Shivaji is in the *Memoirs of François Martin*, a servant of the French East India Company, in whose service he was from 1665. Like Ananda

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[1] Taylor: *Oriental Historical Mss.*, Vol. III, p. 34. There is a French translation of this work by M. Gnana Diagou entitled "Histoire Détaille des Rois du Carnatic," Pondicherry.

[2] C. S. Srinivasachari has pointed out in his paper 'Maratha Occupation of Gingee' (Lahore Session of the Indian History Congress, 1940) how Narayanan had explained the religious significance and the pan-Hindu aim that underlay Shivaji's southern expedition.

[3] Taylor: *Oriental Historical Mss.*, Vol. III, p. 298.

[4] Ibid, p. 441.

Ranga Pillai, he compiled a daily journal of everything of importance which formed his 'Memoirs' going down to 1694. In the words of Dr. Sen this document is of the first rate importance[1]; and Adrian Duarte speaks about its thorough dependability.[2] Martin's association with Sher Khan Lodi enabled him to watch the various political movements made in the Carnatic chess-board and describe them in detail. Other travellers like Dr. Buchanan, Bishop Middleton, Bishop Heber and Lord Valentia who visited Tanjore have given us good pictures of the Maratha court. But the best known account is from the pen of Reverend F. Schwartz.[3] In that colourful gallery of Protestant Missionaries who devoted many years of their existence in furthering the cause of their religion, none stands out in bolder relief than Frederick Schwartz. His transcendent merit, his unwearied and dis-

[1] Sen: *Foreign Biographies of Shivaji*, Introduction, p. 30.

[2] Martin himself observes: "I only state as certain, things I have seen and known. I, of course, depend for my information on the letters and advices which I receive from people, but even so, I always carefully discriminate between people who can be trusted and those who cannot." Adrian Duarte: An estimate of Madanna Pant from the French Records: *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XI, pp. 298-310.

[3] Two works are known and they are (*a*) Pearson's '*Memoirs of Schwartz*' and (*b*) '*His remains consisting of letters and journals.*'

interested labours in the cause of religion and piety and in the exercise of the purest and most exalted benevolence won for him the love and affection of the people. As the guardian angel of Prince Sarabhoji, as one who was helpful in the introduction of a well-established judiciary in the Tanjore kingdom, and as the adviser to the East India Company on many matters of importance, Schwartz is well remembered in the annals of Tanjore. This Missionary gives an account of the administration of Raja Tuljaji, the influence of irresponsible ministers on Amar Singh, his visit to Haidar Ali in 1779 and the distress caused in and around Tanjore by the latter's invasion in 1781. The great pains which Schwartz took to train Sarabhoji and restore him to the *musnud* are clearly set forth, and as such his works are indispensable for the reigns of Tuljaji, Amar Singh and Sarabhoji. In this connection mention must be made of the historical facts gleaned from the Dutch *Dagh-Register*, which is a mine of information and throws much light on the career of Shahji in the Carnatic.

Epigraphy forms an indispensable aid to history and contains the substance of documents engraved on stones and other durable material. These inscriptional evidences serve as the eternal records of great kings and give

an insight into the administrative machinery and also settle questions connected with the chronological succession of kings besides social, religious and economic activities of the state. The volumes of the *Epigraphica Carnatica* contain many inscriptions belonging to the time of Shahji which amply illustrate how the founder of Maratha rule in the south continued the administrative practices of the Vijayanagar kings. A complete account of the Maratha kings of Tanjore is given in the lengthy inscription in Marathi carved in the year 1803 A.D. on the walls of the Brahadiswara temple at Tanjore at the instance of Raja Sarabhoji (1798-1832). It contains a more or less good account of the dynasty and was written after a study of all available documents. "Such a large historical inscription" says Mr. Sardesai "is nowhere else to be found in the whole world."[1] Besides this, all other epigraphical information now available and which have been collected in Robert Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities, Madras Presidency;* the Volumes of *South Indian Inscriptions;* the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy and the Travancore Archāeological Series are also very useful.

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[1] Sardesai : *Main Currents of Maratha History,* p. 64.

CHAPTER I

The Southern Expansion of the Maratha Race.

Maharashtra, the land of the Marathas, occupies that portion which forms roughly a triangle, of which one side is the coast from Surat to Goa stretching to a length of 420 miles, and the second runs from the sea coast eastwards to the neighbourhood of Nagpur for an equal distance, while the third side stretches from Nagpur to Goa 490 miles. The Konkan to the west of the Ghats, and the Desh to its eastern slopes and side, are the two main divisions of this country; the most arresting physical feature is the range of Western Ghats which forms a lofty and broad ridge in the centre. This last region is studded over with many natural rock fortresses which are rendered inaccessible by dense forests and steep mountains. Its people are naturally hardy and self-reliant, subsisting on a meagre return from the soil, and possessed of great strength of mind and love of independence. From a "military point of view there is probably no stronger country in the world."[1] Added to this natural love of independence, the Renaissance which took place

[1] Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas:* Vol. I, p. 6.

in the religious and social life of the people in the century preceding Shivaji's emergence had completely changed their outlook, and fitted them for rearing a nation on a religious basis. "This Religious Revival was not Brahmanical in its orthodoxy; it was heterodox in its spirit of protest against forms and ceremonies and class distinctions based on birth and ethical in its preference of a pure heart, and of the law of love to all other acquired merits and good works. This Religious Revival was the work also of the people, of the masses, and not of the classes."[1]

It was under the Bahmani rule that the innate genius of the Marathas both for administration and for fighting was adequately recognized, and they were employed in considerable numbers in the civil and military services under Ahmadnagar and Bijapur.[2] Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur (1555-57) showed a great preference for the natives of Maharashtra since he found in them officers of ability and talent. Their power and political status were definitely enhanced when Marathi was substituted for Persian as the language of

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[1] Ranade: *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 10.

[2] Ibid, p. 36. A study of the inscriptions in the Carnatic shows that the Marathas were largely employed in the military and administrative departments by the Hoysala kings, by the Yadavas and by the Vijayanagar monarchs. See chapter on Administration.

accounts in the Bijapur Sarkar. The foreign element in the army was diminished and increased employment was given to Maratha soldiers. This example was soon followed by Ahmadnagar as well as by Golconda. In this way not a few of the Maratha leaders acquired distinction and rose to high office of trust. "Thus was the ground prepared partly by nature, partly by the ancient history of the country, partly by the religious revival, but chiefly by the long discipline in arms which the country had undergone under Muhammadan rule for three hundred years." [1]

The gradual penetration of Mughal arms into the Deccan which had begun in the reign of Akbar and carried on by his successors gave an opportunity for the Marathas to help the southern Sultans in their endeavours to stem the tide of northern expansion. By the close of Aurangzib's second tenure of the Viceroyalty of the Deccan (A.D. 1658), three out of the five Sultanates had been fully incorporated into the Imperial dominions, and the remaining two, Bijapur and Golkonda were greatly weakened. Their Sultans, although aware of the doom which awaited them, were not prepared to surrender their sovereignty without a struggle and in the wars that ensued, the

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1 Ibid, p. 38.

Maratha leaders distinguished themselves by their bravery and strategic skill, and in particular, Shahji Bhonsle played a conspicuous part first as the champion of Ahmadnagar, and after its fall in the service of Bijapur. Again in the campaigns conducted by the Bijapur generals against the states of the Carnatic, Shahji's services were utilized and he showed his genius for organization. The declining Vijayanagar Empire invited the attention of Bijapur and Golkonda and they carried on their policy of southern expansion with increasing vigour.

It may be of interest to inquire as to how far Bijapur and Golkonda had extended their dominions into the territories of Vijayanagar. The two Sultanates came to an understanding in A.D. 1573 [1] as to the nature of their encroachments in Vijayanagar Empire, and agreed to respect each other's acquisitions. "Bijapur was allowed for its share of expansion the plateau region covering the greater half of the Mysore plateau on the eastern side and leading into the middle country of Tamil India, the South Arcot District of to-day. Golkonda had for its share the whole of the Karnatak below the Ghats, leading southwards towards Madras and terminating with perhaps the

[1] Rice: *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 35–37.

borders of the Chingleput District."[1] When Śrīraṅga I ascended the throne in A.D. 1575, he had to face these difficulties, and many battles were fought to keep the power of Golkonda within the limits. In one of his wars "he was defeated and taken prisoner and the Musulmans conquered the whole country north of Penugonda and ruled it."[2] (1576). But his release was obtained through the endeavours of a loyal chieftain of the Empire. The Emperor had also to face the incursions of the Bijapur army. After conquering Adoni and extending her dominions along the west coast region, Bijapur in A.D. 1577 made an attempt on Penugonda itself; but the Musulmans were defeated and driven back by the gallant Jagadeva Raya, the Emperor's son-in-law.[3] In recognition of his meritorious services Jagadeva Raya was rewarded with a grant of territory which extended across Mysore from Baramahal on the east, to the base of the Western Ghats in the west. He made Chennapatna, in the Bangalore district his head-quarters. Thus though the attempts

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[1] S. K. Ayyangar: The Rise of the Maratha Power, *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. IX, pp. 176–77.

[2] S. K. Ayyangar: *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 232.

[3] Rice: *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 356. S. K. Ayyangar doubts the relationship between the Vijayanagar Emperor and Jagadeva Raya. *Sources*, p. 230.

of the Sultanates were thwarted at the beginning, yet they despaired not of success.

During the reign of Venkatapathi I (A.D. 1586–1614) although there were some territorial losses, the administration of the Empire was efficiently carried on with the assistance of the various feudatories and the Nāyak rulers of the south. But in course of time, the successful operation of the Golkonda Sultan led to the appropriation of the north-eastern corner of the Vijayanagar territory, while the Seringapatam viceroyalty was liquidated and a new family of rulers, the Udaiyars of Mysore, contrived to set themselves up with the countenance of the Emperor himself. [1] Slowly but steadily the Mysore king, Chāmarāja Wodeyar, absorbed the Chennapatnam viceroyalty by A.D. 1630. The rulers of Vellore and Gingee were subordinated to the Emperor. The recalcitrant Madura Nāyak, Muthu Vīrappa was brought to a sense of loyalty to the Empire by Venkatapathi Raya who himself led an expedition against him, being assisted by the loyal Nāyak of Tanjore. [2] The Nāyaks, of Madura seem to have forgiven neither the Emperor for this assertion of his supremacy,

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[1] *Epigraphica Carnatica* III T, N. 62.

[2] Pudukottah Plates in the *Travancore Archaeological Series I*, pp. 61–68.

nor the Nāyaks of Tanjore for the loyal support that made this assertion possible. [1]

Soon after the death of Venkatapathi I in A.D. 1614, a civil war broke between the loyal adherents of the legal claimant to the throne headed by Yāchama Nāyaka, and the supporters of the putative son of Venkata, under the leadership of Jagga Rāya. After murdering the legitimate king, and finding himself still unable to maintain his position near the capital, Jagga sought and found warm support from the disobedient Nāyaks of Madura and Gingee. Once more the Tanjore Nāyak Raghunātha stood as the great supporter of the cause of the loyalist party of the Empire, and according to the *Sāhityaratnākara* and *Raghunāthābhyudayam*, Tanjore won a crushing victory over Jagga Rāya and his associates, the Nāyaks of Madura and Gingee [2] near the Grand Anicut. In the battle of Topur in A.D. 1616, the allies were defeated, and the young Prince Rama was crowned king at Kumbakonam by Raghunātha. [3]

The successors of Venkatapathi I were Śrīraṅga II (1614-1616), Rama (1616-1630) and

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[1] R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 100.

[2] S. K. Ayyangar: *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 274 and 290.

[3] Ibid, pp. 289-90 and 274.

Venkata II (1630-1642) and these rulers refrained from interfering with the attempts at independence made by their feudatories. Their weakness afforded sufficient scope for Bijapur and Golkonda to advance on the Vijayanagar territory and annex the undefended portions. The conclusion of a pact between Emperor Shah Jahan and the two Sultanates in 1636, relieved the latter from the crushing weight of Imperial aggression, and enabled them to devote their attention for the conquest of the Carnatic. The mutual quarrels that arose among the great feudatories of the Vijayanagar Empire facilitated the Sultans to extend their respective frontiers. Chāma Rāja Wodeyar annexed the Chennapatna viceroyalty without the Bāramahāls, and was not able to conquer the territory of Ikkeri on the northern side. His successor Kanthīravanarasa in order to achieve this brought about a Bijapur invasion as a result of which he himself suffered. Kanthīrava also set up against Vīrabhadra Nāyak, the ruler of Ikkeri, the surrounding Polegars, especially Kenga Hanuma of Basavapattana. Vīrabhadra was able to quell the rebellion, and dispossessed Kenga Hanuma of his territory. Thereupon Kenga Hanuma went over to the Bijapur court to solicit the help of the Padshah, where already another Polegar, Channayya of Nāgamangala who was deprived of his fief by Chāmarāja

Wodeyar, had come with a similar request. The Bijapur Sultan consented to intervene and an army under Randulla Khan with Shahji second in command was sent for the purpose of reinstating Kenga Hanuma. After making Kenga Hanuma, ruler of Basavapattan, the Bijapur army marched on and took possession of the three provinces of Ikkeri, Sira and Bangalore. Afterwards Randulla Khan laid siege to Mysore and Seringapatam simultaneously and towards the end, Kanthīrava agreed to surrender to Bijapur all the country to the north of the Cauvery, including Sira and Bangalore. Thus while Mysore and Ikkeri shared the attacks of Bijapur, the brunt of the Golkonda aggression fell on the Vijayanagar Empire proper, first at Penugonda, and subsequently at Chandragiri, and lastly at Vellore. It was this double pressure both on the western and eastern frontiers of the Empire "that occupied all the available time and energy of the Imperial head-quarters and left the larger viceroyalties without much fear of active intervention on the imperial side."

When Śrīranga III ascended the throne in A.D. 1642 he had to face on the one side the aggressive aspirations of Bijapur and Golkonda, and on the other side the threatening attitude of his southern feudatories who wanted to establish their independence. While

the Nāyak of Tanjore remained always loyal to the Emperor, the Nāyaks of Madura and Gingee became disobedient and openly rebelled against him. The conduct of Tirumala Nāyakan of Madura at a time when the Empire was struggling for existence, and was driven from one capital to another due to Muhammadan fury, was intended to foil the attempts of Śrīraṅga III to "metamorphose the rickety empire into an actively functioning body." The Madura Nāyak strove to establish his independence in which endeavour he only followed the example set by Rāja Wodeyar of Mysore. Not content with the assertion of his independence, he made vigorous attempts to bring about the alliance of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura in order to oppose the Emperor. But this plot was betrayed to Śrīraṅga III by the loyal Nāyak ruler of Tanjore, and Tirumala in order to frustrate the Emperor's attempt to curb his insubordination, courted the assistance of Golkonda and persuaded the Sultan to attack Vellore. The Emperor had to face these difficulties and he was not able to assert his supremacy in the conflict.

In the conquering expeditions of Bijapur in the South, the services of Shahji became indispensable and he was appointed governor to the conquered parts in the Carnatic. He

consolidated these areas, and by A.D. 1662 extended his sway as far south as Tanjore. He was the most potent figure in the Carnatic during this time. The *Shiva Bharat* gives an account of his conquests in these words: "Shahji went on the southern invasion with Ranadhoola Khan sent by Adil Shah; and he conquered the Raja of Bednur; the powerful Virabhadra Nayak; the well-known Kenge Nayaka of Basavapattana; Jagadeva Raya of Kaveripattanam; Kanthirava, the Cruel Lord of Srirangapatam, the brave Vijayaraghava of Tanjore, the noble Venkata Nayak of Gingee, the wise Sriranga Raja of Vidyanagar, the proud lord of Madura named Tirumala Naik, the formidable king of Pilugonda, named Venkata, and the famous Tammagauda Lord of Hamsakuta."[1]

Such were the circumstances that helped the rise of the Marathas and more particularly of Shahji. The sleepless aggressions of the Mughals for the purpose of reducing the kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkonda on the one hand, and the slow disintegration of the Vijayanagar Empire on the other gave much scope for the Marathas to show their skill and organize themselves into

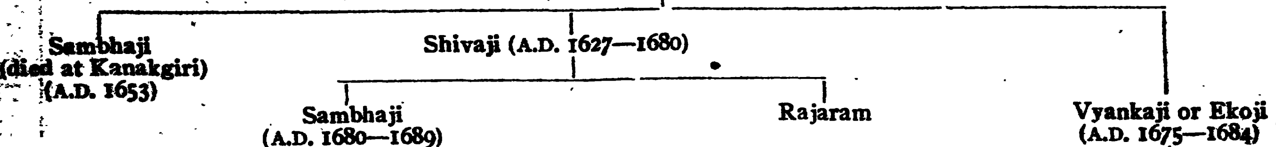
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[1] Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *A Source Book of Maratha History*, p. 12.

a nation. Already they had had enough experience in the administration and military departments while serving the Bahmani Sultanates. Thus united into a powerful nation by these forces, they were eminently fitted to rule the land when their leader Shahji was appointed the supreme Governor of the Bijapur dominions in the south. Shahji made Bangalore his residence, but later on spent his time at Balapur and Kolar. "It was at this time that a swarm of Maratha Brahmins was first introduced into the south for the purpose of establishing under the direction of Shahji, a new system of revenue administration; and of suppressing not only the universal anarchy which then prevailed, but with it most of the traces of the former order of things. Among other innovations the offices and Maratha names of Deshpande, Deshmuk, Kulkarni together with the Persian designations of Kunungo, Serishtadar and numberless other novelties, were then introduced."[1]

Wilks: *History of Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 44.

GENEALOGY OF THE TANJORE MARATHA KINGS

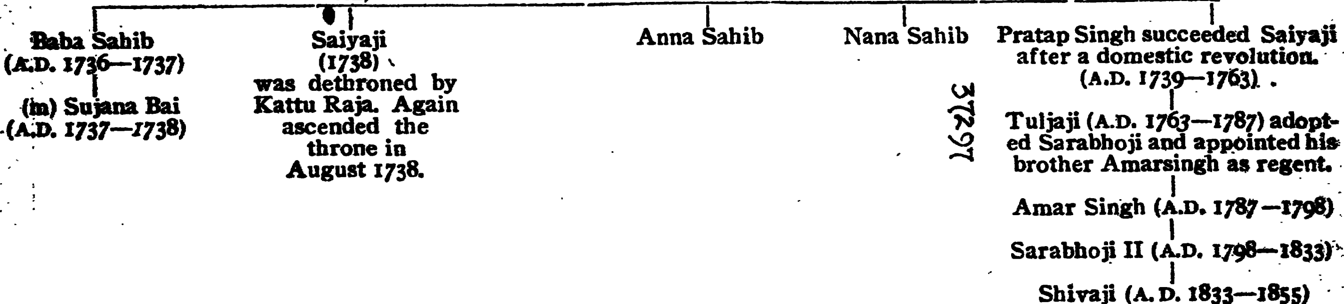


Shahji (A.D. 1684—1712)

Sarabhoji I (A.D. 1712—1728)

Tukkoji (A.D. 1728—1736)

Kattu Raja (born to Rupi or Kuppi ascended the throne in the middle of 1738, but was thrown out in August 1738 and Saiyaji succeeded him)



CHAPTER II

The Rise of Shahji Bhonsle

A.D. 1594—1664.

Shahji was the son of Maloji, a *mansabdar* of 5,000 horse[1] in the service of the Nizamshahi dynasty of Ahmadnagar, and succeeded in A.D. 1619 to his father's *mansab* at the time when Malik Ambar was the chief minister of the state. Up to A.D. 1624 he was in the service of the Ahmanagar Sultan and from that time till A.D. 1636 he was changing sides, now going to the Mughals, now joining the Bijapurians, but always contriving to secure recognition as the holder of his ancestral jaghirs. It was during this period that he tried to build up his dominance in the Ahmadnagar kingdom partly as king-maker and later on in a more direct capacity; but he could not achieve his aim because of the determined persistence with which the Bijapurians and the Mughals combined to thwart his attempts. It was due to the indomitable endeavours of Malik Ambar that Ahmadnagar was able to recover from its

His career up to A.D. 1636.

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[1] Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas:* vol. I, p. 92. But Takakhav and Keluskar mention a mansab of 12,000 following other *Bakhars*: this is however improbable. *Life of Shivaji Maharaj*, p. 13.

disasters and rise again with a fresh vitality. His superior talents and skill as a commander secured for him the victory of which ever struggle he was engaged in, and he extended the territorial limits of the Ahmadnagar kingdom by sundry annexations, besides the recovery of the town of Ahmadnagar. In A.D. 1610 he transferred the capital of the Nizam Shah from Junner to the newly built magnificent city of Khirkhi, near Daulatabad. He also improved the administrative machinery of the state and rehabilitated its finances. The never-ending internecine quarrels of the generals of the Mughal army and the great help which his Maratha troopers rendered him, enabled Malik Ambar to defeat twice the Imperial armies sent against him, one in A.D. 1610 and the second in A.D. 1612. But in A.D. 1615 he was severely defeated, and the victorious Imperialists, in commemoration of their triumph marched to Khirki, razed its buildings to the ground and reduced them to ashes.[1] Prince Khurram brought the war to an end in A.D. 1617, when Malik Ambar was compelled to surrender Ahmadnagar and other forts.

But by A.D. 1620, Malik Ambar having recovered ground, once more opposed the

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[1] Rogers and Beveridge: *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. I, p. 314.

Imperialists and relentlessly devastated the Mughal and Adil Shahi territories. He even went so far as to besiege the Mughals in their long-established strongholds in Khandesh, *viz.*, Balapur and Burhanpur.[1] But the advance of the Imperial troops under Prince Khurram compelled the Deccanis to raise the siege of Burhanpur and the wrath of the Prince was mollified by the destruction of Khirki (the capital of the Nizam Shahi) for a second time.[2] In this struggle, Jadhav Rao, Shahji and Nimbalkar of Phaltan fought on the side of Malik Ambar and they exhibited great valour and courage.[3] For the first time the clever generalship and the fighting qualities of Shahji were displayed to advantage. Although Ambar was defeated, still Shahji made raid after raid on the Mughal camp. By such deeds he won the admiration of not only Ambar but also of his master, the Nizam Shah.

The recall of Prince Khurram from the Deccan by order of the Emperor Jahangir, gave a breathing space for Ambar to carry on his constructive work; but the desertion of Jadhav

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[1] Rogers and Beveridge: *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II, pp. 189—190.

Foster: *English Factories in India* (1618—1621). Mention is made about the siege of Burhanpur; p. 210.

[2] Elliot and Dowson: *History of India*, Vol. VI, pp. 377—80.

[3] Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. I, p. 72.

Rao[1] to the enemy's side and his alliance with the Imperialists as a result of a quarrel with his son-in-law Shahji and his cousins, was the most unfortunate episode in this depressing epoch of Ahmadnagar history.[2] Jadhav Rao was made a *mansabdar* of 24,000[3] and Emperor Jahangir conferred a *farman* for this rank on him.[4] Malik Ambar did not mind this, for Shahji proved to be a greater asset than Jadhav Rao ever did. In the following year Shahji proved his worth by capturing Poona.

The Bijapur Sultan and the Mughal government now entered into a mutual agreement with regard to their activities towards Ahmadnagar.[5] On hearing of it, Malik Ambar contrived to secure an alliance with Golkonda and inflicted a defeat on the Bijapur troops at Bidar.[6] He also besieged the city of Bijapur and would not have abandoned his operations had it not been for the timely arrival of the

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[1] *English Factories in India*: 1618—21, p. 232.
In page 318 is said: "One of the Melickes viziers fled from him with 5,000 horse." Foster thinks him to be Jadhav Rao.

[2] Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *Source Book of Maratha History*, I (1929), p. 5.

[3] Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. I, p. 43.

[4] Rogers and Beveridge: *Memoirs of Jahangir*, Vol. II, p. 218.

[5] Patwardhan and Rawlinson., *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[6] Elliot and Dowson: *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 414.

Imperial forces for its relief. Desirous of avenging their humiliation, the Bijapuri soldiers strengthened by the Imperial troops, marched on into the Nizam Shahi dominions and satiated their wrath in blood and battle.

The battle between the armies of Ahmadnagar and Bijapur is described in detail in the *Shiva Bharat* and an account is given of the prominent leaders who fought on either side. The Ahmadnagar army was conspicuous for its valour and daring in the fight. It was commanded by Malik Ambar and strengthened by the leading Maratha nobles, among whom Shahji shone resplendent. This victory over the combined forces of the Mughals and the Bijapur Sultan not only displayed the strength of Ambar, but proved beyond any doubt the valour and eye for strategy which Shahji exhibited. The complete discomfiture of the Imperial army, and the disasters which had befallen the Bijapuris, both at Burhanpur and at Sholapur, "were not all due to the energy of the octogenerian Ambar, but were to be largely attributed to the valour and tactics of Shahji and other Bhonsle commanders."[1] The opportune revolt of Shah

The battle of Bhatvadi (A.D. 1624)

[1] Balkrishna: *Shivaji*, Pt. I, p. 67.

Jahan that occurred at this juncture and his subsequent alliance with Malik Ambar[1] gave the Malik further scope to deal advantageously with the Imperial troops. Shah Jahan assisted by some troops of Ambar laid siege to Burhanpur itself, but abandoned it on the arrival of reinforcements from Delhi under Prince Parvez and Mahabat Khan.[2]

Dr. Balkrishna thinks that Shahji left Ahmadnagar service because Ambar showered his favours and rewards on Shahji's cousins, and did not show preference to Shahji himself, though he was the person that got for the Malik victory in all the struggles with his enemies.[3] Moreover, the sons of Vithoji became envious of the rising greatness of Shahji, their uncle Maloji's son, and plotted in secret against him. The shrewd Shahji perceived all these, left the service of the Nizam Shah and retired to his own jaghir. But he was very soon invited to enter the service of Adil Shah who wanted to wreak vengeance on the Nizam

Shahji in Bijapur service. A.D. 1625-28.

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1 *English Factories in India*, 1624—29, p. 151. Patwardhan and Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

2 Elliot and Dowson: *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 395;

Beni Prasad: *History of Jahangir*, pp. 390—95.

3 Balkrishna: *Shivaji*, Vol. I, Pt. 1, p. 68.

Shah for his defeat at Bhatvadi. Shahji was offered the post of *Sirlaskar* of the Bijapur army[1] and the Adil Shah was so highly pleased with his consent that he seated him on his own *musnad* by his side at the durbar.[2] The powerful lord of Phaltan, Mudhoji Nimbalkar who was a truculent feudatory of Bijapur. was completely humiliated and brought to submission while his subsequent victories over the chiefs of Kerala and Karnatak filled the coffers of the Adil Shah,[3] and spread Shahji's renown throughout the land.

Important changes took place in Deccan politics at this time. Khan Jahan Lodi was appointed Mughal viceroy of the Deccan, while Mahabat Khan, the experienced general, was recalled to court.[4] Malik Ambar died in A.D. 1626 and was succeeded by his son Fath Khan to the Nizam Shahi wazirship. The Bijapur Sultan, Ibrahim Adil Shah II, breathed his last in September 1627[5] and his minor son

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1 P. S. S. 226, 10th Jan. 1626.

2 Patwardhan and Rawlinson., *op. cit.*, p. 8.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 8.

4 Elliot and Dowson: *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 418; *English Factories in India*, 1624—29, p. 151.

5 Foster puts 1626 as the date of the death of Ibrahim Adil Shah II. *English Factories in India* 1624—29, p. 192 note.

Muhammad Adil Shah ascended the throne[1] with the help of Khawas Khan (the leader of the Deccani party and of the Abyssinian faction) and Mirza Muhammad Amin.[2] The youthful Sultan began to ill-treat his Hindu subjects and this exasperated Shahji, who left Bijapur in disgust and rejoined the service of Ahmadnagar which was threatened by fresh Mughal attacks (1628). Jadhav Rao had also left Mughal service in A.D. 1629, to serve the cause of his old master, the Nizam Shah. By this time Ahmadnagar was able to regain all the territories which she had lost during the reign of Akbar, due to the treachery of Khan Jahan Lodi, Mughal viceroy of the Deccan. For three lakhs of *huns* Khan Jahan bartered away his loyalty to his Imperial master and agreed to restore "all the country of the Balaghat as far as the fortress of Ahmadnagar to Nizam Shah."[3] Fath Khan, the new wazir, sent Shahji to East Khandesh against the Imperial general, Darya Khan Rohela; but the Maratha leader had to suffer a defeat.[4]

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[1] The *Jedhe Sakhavali* puts 1629 as the date of the accession of Muhammad Shah. Patwardhan and Rawlinson., *op. cit.*, p. 27.

[2] Verma's translation of *Muhammad Nama*: *Shivaji Nibandhavali*, Part II, p. 79.

[3] Elliot and Dowson: *History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 434.

[4] Patwardhan and Rawlinson., *op. cit.*, p. 6.

With the incapable Fath Khan as the minister, and weakened by the numerous palace intrigues manœuvered by evil counsellors, the Nizam Shah lost his sense of justice, and acting on the advice of one Hamid Khan, imprisoned Fath Khan and contrived the murder of Jadhav Rao. This last act of his alienated from him the sympathies of Shahji as well as of several other Muslim and Maratha commanders and they left his service.[1] Determined to revenge himself on the Nizam Shahi state for this unjustifiable murder of his father-in-law, Shahji plundered the territories of Ahmadnagar as mercilessly as he did in Bijapur and took possession of a few districts.

Shahji in Mughal service. A.D. 1630-32.

To punish the rebellious conduct of Shahji, Murar Pandit, a Maratha Brahman in the Bijapur service, was sent by Adil Shah who captured Poona and Indapur, and set fire to several villages in that district. Meanwhile, Shahji left for Shivneri and sought the protection of Srinivasa Rao whose daughter Jayanti had been married to his eldest son, Sambhaji (1629).[2] Anxious to secure his jaghir of Poona from the depredations of the Bijapur general, Shahji sent emissaries to Emperor Shah Jahan himself, offering his

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[1] Patwardhan and Rawlinson., *op. cit.*, p. 6.
[2] Ibid. pp. 6 and 9.

services. Already news about his valour and bravery had reached the ears of the Emperor who was only too glad to entertain him in his service and showed his kindness by raising his second son and some relations to be *mansabdars* in the Mughal hierarchy (1630).[1] "The king conferred on him the rank of 5000, with a *kilat*, a jewelled dagger, a standard and drum, a horse, an elephant and two lakhs of rupees, *inams*; his brothers were also honoured."[2] The exploits of Shahji soon obtained for him the additional jaghirs of Junner, Sangamner, Bijapur and Bugole.[3]

Murtaza Nizam Shah restored Fath Khan to liberty in January 1631; but the ungrateful Abyssinian murdered his master,[4] and set up Hussain Shah, on the throne. This treacherous act exasperated both the Maratha and the Muslim sections of the nobility, many of whom abandoned his cause. Unable to resist successfully the Mughal invasion, Fath Khan sought the protection of Emperor Shah Jahan who took him under his care and restored to him the territories

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[1] Elliot and Dowson: *History of India*, Vol. VII, pp. 15—17.

[2] Extract from *Wakeat Sunnoat: Shivaji Nibandhavali*, Part I, p. 90.

[3] Orme Mss. Vol. 331.

[4] Patwardhan and Rawlinson., *op. cit.*, pp. 27—28.

which he had formerly conferred on Shahji. On account of this Shahji had to leave the Imperial service[1] (1632), and managed to secure a large territory which included Nasik and Trimbak and a good portion of the Nizam Shahi dominions.[2] He now placed a rival puppet on the throne of Ahmadnagar and openly opposed Fath Khan. Shah Jahan's desire to conquer permanently the Deccan Sultanates led him to a violation of the treaty which he had concluded with Bijapur in November 1631[3], and the consequence was the formation of a united front consisting of the Qutb Shah, the Adil Shah and the Nizam Shah to oppose the Mughal aggression. Even the Portuguese at Goa are said to have secretly helped Bijapur with ammunition, and other weapons of war.[4] The Emperor commissioned his father-in-law, Asaf Khan, to punish the recalcitrant triumvirate; but his attempted siege of Bijapur resulted in an ignominious failure and in the partial destruction of the Mughal army.[5]

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[1] Ibid p. 7.

[2] P. S. S. pp. 375 and 376.

[3] Verma's tr. of *Muhammad Nama*: *Shivaji Nibandhavali*, Part II, p. 82.

[4] *English Factories in India*, 1630—36, pp. 59—60; P. S. S. Nos. 343, 345.

[5] Verma's tr. of the *Muhammad Nama*; *Shivaji Nibandhavali* Part II, p. 83.

During these four years (A.D. 1632—1636) Shahji was virtually independent of both Bijapur and Ahmadnagar and his grand objective was to save the Ahmadnagar kingdom from the clutches of the Mughals. The energetic and able Mahabat Khan was appointed viceroy of the Deccan; and the humiliated general, Asaf Khan, was recalled to court where he was disgraced. The incapable Fath Khan had neither provisions nor men to defend the Nizam Shahi capital; and knowing this, Shahji now entered into an alliance with the Bijapur Sultan who sent a large body of troops to assist him in taking Daulatabad. Meanwhile, Fath Khan again sought the help of the Imperialists in return for which, he promised to surrender that fort into their hands. A Mughal army commanded by Mahabat Khan arrived in the region with a view to secure Daulatabad. Coming to know of this, Shahji offered, in his turn, to assist Fath Khan in keeping the place in his own hands and earnestly appealed to him not to surrender the famous fort to the Mughals. A battle took place between the Mughals and the Deccani army in which the latter was forced to retire. After sustaining a siege of four months, the fortress of Daulatabad

Shahji as a freelance captain.

surrendered to the Imperial commander in A.D. 1632.[1]

Shahji was not able to remain idle, content to see Daulatabad pass into Mughal hands. As a counter-measure of defiance to them, he crowned at Pemgiri (August 1632) an obscure member of the Nizam Shahi family as Sultan with the title of Murtaza Nizam Shah III.[2] With the help of some Bijapuri troops under Murari Pandit he devastated the surrounding territory.[3] When Mahabat Khan heard this, he proceeded along with Dara Shukoh and encircled the enemy in the fort of Parenda. The Bijapur troops defended the city heroically, and the Mughal army was forced to raise the siege. Rustam-i-Zaman, one of the Bijapur generals, pursued the Mughals right up to Burhanpur and killed many of

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[1] '*Muhammad Nama*' says that Fath Khan was forced to surrender the fort to Mahabat Khan owing to the foolishness of Murari Pandit, the Bijapuri general who refused to give succour. The *Jedhe Chronology* gives the date 7th June 1632, for the capture of Daulatabad (Patwardhan and Rawlinson., *op. cit.*, p. 78.) while Dr. Balkrishna would put it as June 1633. *Shivaji*, Part I, p. 88.

[2] The *Jedhe Chronology*. Patwardhan and Rawlinson., *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[3] Verma's Tr. of *Muhammad Nama*, *Shivaji Nibandhavali* Pt. II, p. 86.

their soldiers.[1] By these methods, Shahji, like the Angel of Resurrection, gathered the scattered bones of the Nizam Shahi and infused life into them. His loyalty to that state which had been marked in his early age would not tolerate the sight of its absorption into the Imperial Mughal dominion.

These alarming reverses to the Imperial aspirations in the Deccan and the successful operations of Shahji which had been their main contributory cause, led Emperor Shah Jahan to proceed to the Deccan with an army of 50,000 to mend matters. After subjecting the surrounding territories of Bijapur to remorseless destruction, the Emperor came to an agreement in A.D. 1636 with the Sultan which was the coping-stone of the Mughal conquest of and the final stage in the slow disintegration of the Nizam Shahi state. The Ahmadnagar kingdom was callously divided between the Mughals and the Adil Shah; and it was agreed between them that Shahji should not be entertained in Bijapur service unless he surrendered certain forts. "Shahji Bhonsla, who had set up a princeling of the

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[1] *Muhammad Nama*, p. 87:—Terms of the treaty as given in it differ slightly from the account given by Abdul Hamid Lahori in his *Badshah Nama*. (See pp.90–91 of History in *Muhammad Nama* by Prof. B. D. Verma in the *Shivaji Nibandhavali*, Pt. II,

house of Nizam Shah, should not be admitted to office under Bijapur, unless he ceded Junner, Trimbak and some other forts still in his hands to Shah Jahan. If he declined, he was not to be harboured in Bijapur territory or even allowed to enter it."[1]

The Bijapur forces now began to press Shahji hard; and he was driven from place to place, being compelled to evacuate one fort after another in order to escape the wrath of the Bijapur soldiers. Finally he took shelter in Mahauli (March 1636) where he was besieged by Khan Zeman and Randulla Khan.[2] He realized that any assertion of his independence would be foolish at this crisis when he was hemmed in on all sides by his enemies; he quietly surrendered the fortress and the puppet Nizam Shahi ruler into the hands of the besiegers and entered once again Bijapur service. From A.D, 1636 till his death in A.D. 1664, Shahji continued to be in Bijapur service, and greatly benefited that state. On two occasions, once in A.D. 1648 and later in A.D. 1663, he was arrested for alleged disobedient conduct on his part, but was liberated mainly on account of the great reputation and influence which his achievements had earned for

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[1] Sarkar: *Aurangzib*, Vol. I, p. 40,

[2] Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 28,

him. During these long years of service under the Bijapur banner, he carried the arms of the Adil Shah far into the south and extended its sway to Gingee and beyond. He became in reality the almost independent governor of these new conquests for which he was mainly responsible. Of that career of conquest and enterprise, an enquiry is made into in the following sections.

Shahji's conquests in the Carnatic A.D. 1636-48.

The conclusion of a treaty by Golkonda and Bijapur with the Mughal Emperor in 1636 gave enough relief from anxiety for the security of their northern frontier and enabled them to extend their arms into the disturbed country south of the Tungabhadra. Already the Vijayanagar Empire had been greatly weakened by internal sedition and by the rebellions raised by the Nāyaks of the south, particularly by Tirumala Nāyak of Madura who invoked the help of Bijapur for asserting his independence. In all quarters of the Hindu Empire a wave of unrest manifested itself, which gave sufficient stimulus for the invader to enlarge his dominions. The aggressions of Bijapur were felt in the western and north-western parts of the Empire, and it was Ikkeri which was first threatened by the Bijapur general, Randulla Khan who had Shahji as his second in command (1636).

The incursions of the Ikkeri ruler Vīrabhadra Nāyak into the domains of the surrounding poligars exasperated Kenga Hanuma of Basavapattan, who solicited the ruler of Bijapur to attack the Ikkeri oppressor and take possession of his fort. When the Bijapur forces arrived under Randulla Khan and Shahji, Vīrabhadra was caught unawares, and he fled to the fortress of Kasnauldurg. After taking Ikkeri, Randulla Khan besieged Kasnauldurg, and Vīrabadra obtained his deliverance only at the heavy cost of surrendering one half of his kingdom and paying 18 lakhs of *huns*.[1] Thus the treachery of Kenga Nāyak brought about the discomfiture of the Ikkeri chief; little did he think that by exposing his brother chief he was jeopardizing his own security. Two years later Vīrabhadra made an abortive attempt to regain his lost independence which only resulted in the complete conquest and annexation of Ikkeri. But through Shahj's interference the chief was restored to his principality and he became a vassal of the Bijapur king. He removed his capital from Ikkeri to Bednur (now Nagar) in A.D. 1639.[2]

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[1] Verma's Tr. of *Muhammad Nama* in the *Shivaji Nibandhavali*, Pt. II, p. 97.

[2] Rice: *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 156.

The temptation once given to the Bijapur is for extending their dominion sharpened their appetite for further conquest and annexation. Their armies, under Randulla Khan and Shahji, once more crossed the Tungabhadra and threatened the surrounding places. This time Kenga Nayak had the satisfaction of diverting the attention of the Bijapur commander to the conquest of Bangalore, then ruled by Kempe Gauda, for which he obtained the fort of Sira, whose chief Kastūri Ranga was treacherously murdered by Afzal Khan, one of the Bijapur generals, who had been sent in advance to attack the place.[1] Kempe Gauda of the Yelahanka family, the chief of Bangalore, had by this time grown into a considerable chieftain holding possession of Bangalore and Magadi, as well as the impregnable hill fortress of Savandurga.[2] Randulla approached Bangalore and secured the town, after a three days' struggle. Kenga Nayak was solely responsible for persuading Kempe Gauda to surrender the fort with all its property to Rustam-i-Zaman, and Shahji was appointed governor of the town and

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[1] Afzal Khan thus gave an early indication of his attempted, but foiled, treatment of Sivaji, as the chronicle *Muhammad Nama* says that when Kasturi Ranga, the chief of Sira, having yielded, came out of the fort to confer with the Khan, the latter on the pretext of some untoward accident, "killed him then and there."

[2] Rice: *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, p. 22.

district. Immediately after this victory, the Bijapur banner was carried on to Seringapatam whose ruler, Kanthīrava Narasa, was subdued by Shahji [1]; but he was allowed to continue his rule on a payment of 5 lakhs of *huns* as indemnity.[2]

Kenga Nayak, conscious of the sorry part he had played in betraying, first, Virabhadra of Ikkeri, and then Kempe Gauda of Bangalore, and realising that any more coquetting with Bijapur would only result in his ultimate ruin [3], hurried home, fortified his stronghold

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[1] Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[2] Verma: *History in Muhammad Nama: Shivaji Nibandhavali.* Pt. II, p. 100. Wilks says that Kanthīrava Narasa defeated the Bijapuris and obtained much booty. "In an attempt against Seringapatam in 1638 he was foiled by the valour of Kanthīrava Narasa Raj." (*Salem District Manual*, p. 51). "He, (Kanthīrava) successfully repelled the Bijapur invasions and extended the kingdom on all sides, gaining great booty, some of which he applied to strengthening the fortifications of Seringapatam."

Rice: *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 127.

It might well have happened that Rustam-i-Zaman retired from before Seringapatam where he is said to have stayed for over a month, engaged in besieging its fort, on account of the approaching rains, leaving Kenga Nayak to bring the presents and the stipulated sum.

[3] Verma: *History in Muhammad Nama*: *Shivaji Nibandhavati*, Pt. II, p. 100.

Although Kenga Nayak strove to gain his own ends still he was full of the Pan-Hindu spirit. When Rustam-i-Zaman in his second expedition wanted to attack the fort of Tadpatri, the Rajahs of that neighbourhood, who are known as 'manyawaram,' sent a secret

of Basavapattan, gathered together all available troops, made alliances with the neighbouring Rajas and bade open defiance to his erstwhile overlord, the Adil Shah. Rustam-i-Zaman was sent to punish him, and after entering into an alliance with Virabhadra[1] to whom he promised the restoration of all his lost territories, the Bijapuri general besieged Kenga Nayak in his fortress of Basavapattan. The latter fought for long and ardently; but he realized the superior strength of the enemy, and agreed to surrender the fort and pay 40 lakhs of *huns* as indemnity. The *Shiva Bharat* claims the victory over Kenga Nayak and the capture of Basavapattan as due to the genius of Shahji. In course of time, Chikkanayakanhalli, Belur, Tumkur, Balapur and Kolihal

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message to Kenga Nayak, saying: "If the fort of Tadpatri falls into the hands of the Muhammadans the whole country will be easily overrun by them. So you should make an effort to dissuade them from coming to this side." Kenga Nayak accordingly persuaded Rustam-i-Zaman not to undertake the conquest of Tadpatri, but to concentrate on the capture of Bangalore. Kempa Gauda, the chief of Bangalore, would have been completely defeated, if Kenga Nayak had not interfered and spoken to the Bijapur general about the supposed strength of the enemy. Thus we note in Kenga Nayak the supreme aim to preserve the independence of the Hindus, and when Rustam-i-Zaman left for Bijapur he declared: "Henceforth I will not remain under Rustam-i-Zaman and can no longer obey him."

[1] Rustam-i-Zaman wrote to Virabhadra thus: "If you will help me in defeating Kenga Nayak, I will restore to you that dominion of yours which I gave to him after the victory of Ikkeri."

were captured; and laden with gold and trophies, Rustam-i-Zaman, grew conscious of his achievements in this expedition and retraced his steps to Bijapur. Thus by A.D. 1644, as a result of the Bijapur conquests in the late Vijayanagar possessions in Mysore and adjacent countries, the Bijapuri Carnatic Balaghat and Payanghat were formed under the governorship of Shahji[1] who fixed his headquarters at Bangalore.[2]

Sriranga III and his feudatories.

Śrīraṅga's main endeavour was to unite the different centrifugal forces in the Hindu Empire and present as much of a united front as possible to the surging tide of Muhammadan invasion. He knew full well that if his feudatories should help him in this endeavour, it would not be impossible to drive the Muhammadans from his dominions. The *rapprochement* with his rebellious Nāyaks and the chief of the western lands which he envisaged, could not be realised and he failed completely in his desperate efforts. While Ikkeri, Mysore and Tanjore remained, in a measure, loyal to him, Madura and Gingee were definitely hostile and inimical throughout. The tortuous policy of Tirumala Nāyak of Madura had a deep and pernicious influence on the course of events.

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[1] Rice: *Mysore and Coorg.*, p. 123.

[2] Sen: *Sivachhatrapati*, p. 3.

Far from assisting his suzerain he strove to form a league of his own to defeat the purpose of the Emperor and effect his own prominence. He did not visualise the general calamity that would befall the Hindu cause and would swallow him along with the rest, and being animated by a short-sighted policy of self-interest, raised the banner of revolt and incited the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Gingee to join him in his unholy endeavour. The traditional loyalty of Tanjore could not tolerate any suggestion of revolt against the Emperor; and Vijayarāghava Nāyak, when invited to join the league, not only refused compliance, but actually informed the Rāya of the nefarious project. Thus foiled in his attempt, and foreseeing a possible defeat were he to meet the Imperial army, Tirumala adopted the only course left open to him and invited the Golkonda Sultan to launch an invasion into the Rāya's dominions and attack Vellore, the capital of Śrīraṅga III. When Vellore was thus besieged by the Golkonda forces, Śrīraṅga had to abandon his plan to punish Tirumala and retrace his steps to defend his capital. With the assistance of Shivappa Naik of Ikkeri[1] with whom he had effected an understanding, he completely routed the Golkonda army under

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[1] S. K. Iyengar: *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 347.

Mir Jumla and had the satisfaction of inflicting heavy losses on the enemy.[1] After this, he turned his attention to the south in order to bring back the Nāyaks of Madura and Gingee to a sense of their duty; and the English Factory letter from Madras dated October 1645, tells us that he succeeded in his attempt and restored the Imperial greatness.[2] He also entered into a treaty with Bijapur which promised assistance for a payment of 150,000 pagodas and 24 elephants.[3]

Campaign against Shivappa Nayak A.D. 1644.

Shivappa, the brother of Virabhadra, was one of the most distinguished kings of the line. He greatly enlarged Bednur, and made it a central emporium of trade. Father Leonardo Paes, then travelling in Kanara, says that he amassed an enormous treasure, that his possessions extended from the Tundry river to Kasargod or Nilesvar and that he had a standing army of about forty to fifty thousand men.[4] Such was the splendour and magnificence of Ikkeri under the rule of Shivappa. But the Bijapur Sultan could not reconcile himself with the rise of Shivappa to such prominence which entailed the loss of Ikkeri. Hence, in order to reconquer

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[1] Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 264.

[2] *English Factories* 1642–45, p. 290.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 115.

[4] Rice: *Mysore and Coorg*, pp. 158–59.

the fortress, he sent Mustafa Khan (Nawab Khan Baba) and Muzaffar Uddin, Khan-i-Khanan. Shivappa knowing this strengthened the fort, and leaving its defence in the hands of trusted nobles, took shelter in the neighbouring hills. Very soon the Bijapur army got possession of Ikkeri and of Sagar as well (March 1644). Another expedition was sent under Khan-i-Khanan to capture the remaining strongholds in the Karnatak and Malnad. The commander captured Nandyal after a vigorous siege of 4 days and followed it up with getting possession of eight other forts. The *Muhammad Nama* gives the names of these places: Sriwal, Kopgonda, Obhali, Porlor, Parkaupulast, Kanigiri, Kardelmast and Chabakalmarbast. This chronicle also mentions that at this time the Adil Shah received a request for peace and presents sent by Abdullah Qutb Shah. Dr. Balkrishna thinks that this was an attempt at the patching up of differences between the two monarchs with a view to their making a joint effort against the Hindus.[1]

After this mutual alliance, Bijapur and Golkonda directed their united forces towards counteracting the activities of Śrīraṅga and appropriating his dominions. The Hindu Emperor was thus seriously menaced on the

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[1] Dr. Balkrishna: *Shivaji*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 119.

one side, by the combined attack of the two Sultans, and on the other, by the truculence and disloyalty of the Madura Nāyak, Tirumala. The English Factory letter of February 10, 1646, from Madras sums up the political condition of South India at that time in these words: "This country is at present full of wars and troubles, for the king and three of his Naigues are at variance, and the king of Vizaporres army is come into this country on the one side and the king of Golkonda upon the other, both against this king. The Mir Jumla is General for the king of Golkonda, who hath already taken three of the kings castles, whereof one of them is reported to be the strongest-hold in this kingdom; (Udayagiri) where Molay[1] was sent

[1] The Emperor S'rīraṇga III disgraced Damarla Vēnkatappa Nāyak and his place was given to Mallai (*alias* Chinna Chetty), an influential merchant through whom the Dutch were conducting their trade transactions with the Indians. In course of time Mallai became a strong man and tried to get under his control the Madras coast. The English, to safeguard their interests, had to resist the claim of Mallai. But soon the Dutch quarrelled with Mallai and the latter assisted by S'rīraṇga wanted to lay siege to Pulicat. He also seized the merchandise of the Dutch and sold them to the English. The Dutch complained against this and contended that Mallai had no authority to make war upon them. They also made it known that because the English received stolen goods from Mallai, they would search English ships and recover any Dutch goods that might be found on board. As a counter-measure the English persuaded S'rīraṇga to proclaim that Mallai had been authorised by him to confiscate Dutch goods. (C. S. Srinivasachari: *A History of Madras*, pp. 31–33).

to keep it, but in a short time surrendered it into Mir Jumla, upon composition for himself and all his people to go away free ; but how he will be received by the king we shall advise you by the next, for this news came unto us but yesterday."[1]

Continuing his advance, Mir Jumla[2] had no difficulty in conquering Pulicat and San Thome

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[1] *English Factories*, 1646-50, pp. 25-26.

[2] The early career of Mir Jumla synchronized with the rise of the English East India Company to trade prominence in South India. Before 1634, it was the Persian Elchi Beg that was the most prominent minister in the Golkonda state. For the first time in 1636 we hear of Mir Jumla in connection with the English who had begun to complain of ill-treatment meted out to them by the governor and other officers of Masulipatam and Petapoli. Mir Jumla had become the *Sar-i-Khail* of the Golkonda state and interpreted the 'Golden Farman' in the strictest sense. The English looked upon him as one of their "utter (worst) enemies." Gradually, as Mir Jumla became the chief minister and most influential man in the Golkonda state, the English made up their mind to satisfy him with presents and flattery. He was addressed as 'Nawab', and given the loan of pilots and sailors who would help him to navigate his junks to Persia. Mir Jumla not only hired sailors from the European traders of the coast, but also occasionally demanded loans from them and in turn helped them with loans. Through his commercial activities he became a serious competitor with the English, particularly in the trade with the Persian coast. Andrew Cogan, one of the founders of Madras, had an audience with the Sultan through the help of Mir Jumla and tried to get several concessions. But Mir Jumla's conquest of a good portion of the Lower Carnatic about A.D. 1646 made the English fear him. The surrender of Mallai in A.D. 1646 had repercussions on English trade. From that time onward, the references in the Madras records indicate a

and advanced towards the Hindu capital.[1] Vellore was besieged in due course by the combined forces of Bijapur and Golkonda and Śrīraṅga suffered a crushing defeat. "From the Dutch records we learn that Śrīraṅga after suffering a severe defeat under the walls of Vellore, was forced to pay a heavy indemnity to the leader of the Bijapur army, and that the Nāyaks, sobēred by the successes of the Muhammadans returned to their allegiance and promised to assist the king in maintaining the independence of his country."[2] The Emperor's attempt to obtain the help of his southern feudatories did not bear fruit even in this extremity; and he "spent more than a year with the three Nāyaks in the midst of festivities, feasts and pleasures, during which the Muhammadans quietly achieved the conquest of his dominions. Soon vain joys gave place to jealousies and divisions. Rejected again by the Nāyaks,

growing fear of the English to Mir Jumla; but the latter wisely refrained from displaying any hostility towards them and showed an inclination to be friendly with them. By the end of October 1647, Mir Jumla had come to be recognized as the *Annabob.* They deemed it expedient to give Mir Jumla the gift of a brass gun and got in return the confirmation of all their former privileges granted to them by S'rīraṇga "the foresaid, fled Jentu king." (J. N. Sarkar's paper on the "Relations of Mir Jumla with the English": pp. 918–949.; *Proceed--ings of the Indian History Congress*, 1939, Calcutta).

[1] *English Factories*, 1646–50, p. 70.

[2] Foster: Introduction in *English Factories* 1646–50: p. xxv.

Narasinga established his court in the forests of thieves (Kallars) lying to the north of Tanjore, where he spent four months, a prey to all discomforts; his courtiers soon abandoned him."[1] The *Sivatatvaratnākaram* speaks about the loss of his capital Vellore and to his 'wandering without a home,' while the French traveller, Thevenot, observes that "the king of Bisnagar.........was left without a kingdom and constrained to fly to the mountains."[2] Śrīraṅga's cause was taken up by the generous Shivappa Nāyak of Ikkeri who not only "gave him the government of Belur and Sekkerpattana, but attacked Seringapatam on his behalf."[3] The *Sivatatvaratnākaram* mentions the capture of Vellore by Shivappa and the numerous honours conferred upon him by the Emperor[4] as a recognition of his valour. Success smiled upon Śrīraṅga, and according to the *Rāmarājīyamu* the Emperor at once 'marched from his capital against the hill fort of Udayagiri which had been occupied by the Kutb Shah and utterly defeated him."[5]

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[1] *La Mission Du Madure* III : R. Satyanatha Iyer : *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 264-65.

[2] *Travels*, Part III, p. 91.

[3] Rice : *Mysore and Coorg*, p. 159.

[4] Dr. S. K. Iyengar : *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 347.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 311.

The grandest of all the expeditions which Bijapur conducted in the Karnatak was the one undertaken by Nawab Mustafa Khan, assisted by the most powerful feudatories of the realm. The fort of Gumti was taken and near Honhalli they were met by Asad Khan and Shahji who had been previously sent by the Sultan to menace the Karnatak frontier. When they reached Sakrapatam, they were joined by Shivappa Nāyak, Dodda Nāyak (Raja of Harpanahalli), Hashmi Ambar Khan, Jujhar Rao, Abaji Rao Ghatge, a brother of Kenga Nāyak, and the Desais of Lakmishwar and Kopal. As this huge army moved along towards the kingdom of Vellore, Śrīraṅga, aware of the danger confronting him, sent his ambassador Venkayya Somayaji, who waited on the Khan Baba and entreated him not to attack the Rāyal's country. At the same time the Nawab was met by the envoys of the Nāyaks of Gingee and Madura who had risen against the Emperor and who offered submission to the Bijapur Sultan. Śrīraṅga endeavoured to punish the recalcitrant Nāyaks. Seeing this the Nawab agreed to suspend hostilities in case the Emperor consented to make peace with his feudatories. Promising to convey this intention of Mustafa Khan to Śrīraṅga, Somayaji was allowed to go to Vellore with Mulla Ahmad on the advice of Shahji who

Nawab Mustafa Khan's Campaign A.D. 1646–47

stood security for his fidelity and assured his Muslim colleague that the Somayaji had sworn by God in his presence to be faithful to his word.

At Vellore Somayaji counselled Emperor Śrīraṅga to prepare for war and prevent the encroachments of the Bijapur armies; the passes were fortified, and the Muslims in the service were given presents in order that they might be faithful. When the Nawab came to know of this, he could not however blame Shahji with having assured him falsely that there would be no war. Shahji possibly to save himself from any charge of collusion with the enemy, invaded the territory of Jagadeva and routed his forces.[1] He also encountered the advance of Śrīraṅga who penetrated into the territory of Jagadeva, and contrived to secure the submission of Krishnadurg (Krishnagiri) in January 1647. After plundering all the places on the way, Nawab Mustafa Khan arrived before Vellore. A severe battle took place between

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[1] Jagadeva Rāya had rendered brilliant service against the Muhammadan incursions and for this he had been rewarded by a grant of territory which extended from the Baramahal on the east to the Ghats on the west. He ruled from Chennapatna and his other important towns were Nagamangala, Kankanhalli, Periapattina, Banawar in the north and also Holihonnur. This Jagadeva had finally to submit to the Raja of Seringapatam about 1630. The *Basātin-u's-Salātin* asserts that in this battle Shahji was defeated.

the two armies; and that section of the Bijapur troops, commanded by Shahji distinguished itself in particular. Vellore was besieged, and the Rāyal submitted and promised to pay 50 lakhs of *huns* and 150 elephants (April 1647).[1] Afterwards the Bijapur army conquered several forts including Raidurg, Kaveripatnam and others. The protection of these parts was placed in the hands of Shahji and Asad Khan. The Bijapur campaign could not have been so very successful if Shahji had not taken an active share in it. His enthusiasm and loyalty to serve his master demanded his intensive co-operation with the Bijapuris against his own Hindu brethren. He knew full well that he was in a way responsible for the disintegration of the Vijayanagar Empire; but he could not help it. For the meritorious services rendered by him, the titles of 'Maharaj' and

[1] The battle is well sketched in *Muhammad Nama*. It was fought a couple of miles off Vellore under a big temple. The Rāya's army was commanded by Damarlawar and helped by contingents of Bahlol Khan Shahjahani, Dilawar Khan, and Ragho Brahman Nizam Shahi. The latter was engaged with Shahji and his Maratha troopers on the right wing of the Bijapuri army. Damarlawar fled from the field with considerable losses, Bahlol Khan was routed and the Rāya had to submit after this decisive set-back almost at the gates of his capital.

See B. D. Verma: tr. of *Muhammad Nama. Shivaji Nibhandhavali* Pt. II, p. 128.

'son of the King of Bijapur' were conferred on him.[1]

Mir Jumla after conquering the strong fortress of Udayagiri (1646) and the surrounding parts from Mallai and consolidating his new acquisitions advanced south to capture the stronghold of Gingee. He had already allied himself with Bijapur and negotiated with Mysore for an understanding. The Madura Nāyak, Tirumala, now realised that his selfish attempt to subdue Emperor Śrīraṅga with foreign help had proved dangerous to him; and to oppose Golkonda, he now sought the assistance of Bijapur which sent him 17,000 horse. This army commanded by Nawab Mustafa Khān and assisted by Shahji and other generals conquered, on its way, the forts of Chengama and Tiruvannamalai and advanced south. The contention of Sir J. N. Sarkar; relying on the *Muhammad Nama*, that in all these wars Shahji did not take any part beyond what has been mentioned above, and that his achievements, if any, did not deserve to be mentioned in the Despatches,[2] cannot be sustained. The chronicle was written by a court-poet whose tendency seems to be to praise the Nawab and belittle the meritorious services of

Operations against Gingee. A.D. 1648

[1] Dr. Balkrishna: *Shivaji*, Vol. I, Pt. I, p. 123.

[2] Sir Jadunath Sarkar in the *Modern Review*, July 1929, p. 10.

other generals. That Shahji contributed mightily to the tremendous success of the Bijapuri army is only too evident.

The advance of the Bijapur and Golkonda armies in the south had resulted in causing great dislocation to the trade of the Company. They plundered the trading centres; and the English Factory letter dated 23rd September 1648, declares: "These are the Golkonda and Bijapur Moors, the latter of which hath brought in 8000 freebooters who received no pay but plunder what they can; whose incursions, robberies, and devastations hath brought a dislocation on a great part of the country round about, especially the three prime ports, Tevanampatam, Porto Novo and Pondicherry, of which the last one in a manner ruined, the other hardly preserving itself in a poor condition with continual presents."[1] Assisted by the imposing army of Bijapur and with his own of 30,000 foot, Tirumala Nāyak marched to Gingee where he was mortified to see his plans frustrated when the Bijapuris joined their Muslim brethren against their erstwhile Hindu allies. "The Subah of Golkonda concluded a treaty with the general of Idal Khan and retired to the kingdom of Bisnagar to

[1] *English Factories*, 1646-50, pp. 215-16.

consolidate its conquest."[1] This *volte face* on the part of Bijapur and the quarrels among the nobles on the Hindu side upset all calculations and the Muhammadans took possession of Gingee.[2] The fall of Gingee presaged the humiliation of Tanjore and Madura whose Nayaks were glad to purchase immunity by submission. "Thus after conquering a vast country, subduing two powerful kings and gathering incalculable treasures without being put to the necessity of giving a single battle, and almost without losing a single soldier, the Dekhan army returned to Bijapur, where it made a triumphal entry."[3]

Shahji's arrest. 25th July 1648[4]

There are various explanations for the arrest of Shahji in the course of the siege of Gingee; but his disobedient conduct during the operations round Gingee and the suspicion aroused in the mind of the Adil Shah as to his sympathy with the Hindus should be held to be the most significant factors. According to *Chitnis*, Shivaji wrote a discourteous reply to Shahji's advise to come and see the Badshah.

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[1] *La Mission Du Madure III.* R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 265.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 129.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 266.

[4] Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 28.

When the latter came to know this he grew suspicious of Shahji and ordered Baji Ghorpade to arrest him.[1] The *Shiva Digvijaya* says that Baji Ghorpade consented to carry out the order of the king to arrest Shahji and he did it by arranging a dinner.[2] According to *Bastin-u's-Salatin*, Shahji's misconduct when the siege of Gingee was going on and his disobedience to the Nawab led to disunion and disaffection between them, and the Nawab resolved to arrest him. One day he made Baji Rao Ghorpade and Jaswant Rao Asadkhani get their forces ready and sent them very early in the morning to Shahji's camp. Shahji tried to escape, but was struck off his horse by Baji Rao Ghorpade, arrested and brought before the Nawab who ordered him to be kept in confinement.[3] The *Shiva Bharat* relates how Shahji's camp was surrounded by the troops of the Nawab, how he tried to escape, but fell down wounded, and was taken prisoner by Baji Ghorpade.[4] The *Muhammad Nama* contains the following statement:

[1] Sen: *Sivachhatrapati*, pp. 172–74.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 175–181.

[3] Quoted by Sir J. N. Sarkar: *Shivaji*. p. 36.

[4] *Shiva Bharat*: Patwardhan and Rawlinson, *op., cit.* pp. 14–15. Shahji never forgave the treachery of Baji Ghorpade. He had written to his son Shivaji to wreak vengeance on Ghorpade whenever an opportunity came. "You know what good turn Baji Ghorpade has

"As the siege lingered on Shahji Raja who always changes sides like the dice of gamblers sent his chamberlain to the Nawab requesting his permission to go to his own dominion so that his soldiers may get some rest."

The Nawab replied that it amounted to creating a disturbance if he were to break off at that critical time. Thereupon Shahji Raja sent word to him that in the camp grain was dear and that the soldiers could no longer put up with hardships and trouble, and that under those circumstances there was no need of taking any permission and that he would leave for his country without any permission.

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done me. You my son have earned glory; you should repay Baji Ghorpade some time or other." Indeed an occasion arose to punish Ghorpade. When Khem Sawant and Lakshan Sawant, Desais of Kudal, requested the Bijapur Sultan to assist them in their endeavour to crush Shivaji, Adil Shah sent Khawas Khan and Baji Ghorpade with 10,000 men. When Shivaji came to know "that the main charge had been taken by Sawant, that Baji Ghorpade had been instructed to assist him, and that Khawas Khan was descending the Ghats, the Maharaj made ready his troops and horse and artillery, came to Panhala and advanced with his men. Meanwhile Baji Ghorpade had come home with some men. Shivaji learnt this and advanced towards Mudhol. To punish Baji Ghorpade before any one else, he besieged the place and plundered the surrounding country. When Ghorpade advanced, Shivaji accepted battle. The Marathas of Ghorpade fought with great vigour. Baji Ghorpade fell on the field. Shivaji killed all who were captured. The fort was taken and the town looted." (Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99).

" When the Nawab found that Shahji Rajah was bent on kicking up a row, and through fox-like cunningness wished to mar the game, he used extreme prudence and skill and imprisoned him in such a manner that out of his ministerial property not a single *kasu* was lost, and all his wealth was taken into possession by the imperial authorities."[1]

Out of the reasons assigned for Shahji's humiliation and imprisonment, two stand out most prominently, *viz.*, his insubordination and his "coquetting with the Rāyal and the Qutb Shah." Dr. Balkrishna has no manner of doubt as to the loyalty of Shahji to Adil Shah and observes that "it is extremely unlikely that under such circumstances Shahji could have thought of leaving his personal and ancestral jaghirs for an insecure service under Qutb Shah."[2] It must be remembered that Shahji was made up of a sterner stuff which would have resented any discourteous treatment at the hands of the Nawab, and he was prepared even to risk his life in order to preserve his honour and dignity. To say that he cared very much for his personal and ancestral jaghirs and thought not of his honour is to do little justice to the nobility of this illustrious Maratha leader.

[1] Quoted by Dr. Balkrishna: *Shivaji,* Pt. I, pp 128–29.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 130.

Shahji was taken "in chains" by Afzal Khan to Bijapur where the Adil Shah ordered the confiscation of his properties.[1] Shahji's

[1] The *Muhammad Nama* describes the treatment meted out to Shahji while he was a prisoner in these words: "Shahji Raja who was brought in chains was sent to the prison of example, and at this kind of treatment of the King towards Shahji, the nobles and other residents of the city were surprised, because they thought that Shahji Raja deserved capital punishment and no favour in the form of a guard or watch. As he was put in confinement they thought that he might be pardoned and liberated. Some of the councillors did not like his release in the least as he was very cunning and resourceful. Another party was unanimous that to bestow liberty on that treacherous and reckless fellow would be tantamount to trampling the tail of a snake, or opening the knot of the tail of a scorpion with one's own hand with full knowledge (of) and after seeing clearly (the danger involved in the adventure). It is not the way of the wise to regard a porcupine as a heap of mud and a wasp's abode as a fit pillow for the head."

"The King who was ever ready to pardon the crimes of the created beings, entrusted Shahji Raja to Ahmad Khan, *Sar Sarnaubat*, with the instructions that if Shahji would give up to the imperial authorities the strong fort of Kondwana, with the forts of Kundarpi and Bangalore, he would be honoured with his former position."

"Khan Ahmad Khan accordingly carried Shahji to his own house and kept him in confinement. Then he broached to him the glad tidings of the royal kindnesses and left no stone unturned in sympathising with him and soothing his heart. When Shahji saw that his black deeds had brought forth white flowers on account of the showers of royal favours, he agreed readily to obey implicitly. He sent to his two sons who were firmly seated in the above mentioned forts: 'As soon as these few sentences reach you, you should deliver the forts of Kondwana, Bangalore and Kundarpi to the trusty agents of the Emperor.' They abided by this behest of their father immediately."

release[1] was not effected through external forces,[2] for the Adil Shah had the wisdom to set free his general as otherwise he thought his position would be jeopardized. The imprisonment of Shahji did not in any way relax the persistence and fury with which Shivaji carried on his activities on the Bijapur territories. The forces sent under Fath Khan against Bangalore and Purandar held by Sambhaji and Shivaji respectively, got discomfited. There was already a party in the court among the elder nobles agitating for the immediate release of Shahji. In the face of these circumstances and when the Mughal ruler was only waiting to take notice of the confusion in the Bijapur court, the Adil Shah had no other course but to release Shahji under the ostensible plea that the forts of Kondana, Bangalore and Kundarpi should be

"The king called Shahji Raja in his presence and honoured him with the role of *Vizarat* and restored to him his former country."

B. D. Verma: History in *Muhammad Nama: Shivaji Nibandhavali*, pp. 127–29.

[1] *The Jedhe Chronology* (16th May 1649): Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op.*, cit. p. 28.

[2] Sir Jadunath Sarkar's view (*Shivaji*, p. 38) that Shahji's release was obtained due to the mediation of Sharza Khan and Randulla Khan, seems to be far-fetched for, according to the *Muhammad Nama*, Mustafa Khan became the commander-in-chief on account of Randulla Khan's death.

returned to him.[1] Thus Shahji's greatness at the Bijapur court and the fear of the possible repercussions of imprisoning him, together with the supreme need for a strong man to govern the Carnatic dominions of Bijapur, and occupy the place of the deceased Mustafa Khan, were the circumstances that impelled Adil Shah to set free his Maratha nobleman.[2]

Along with Shahji, Kanhoji Naik Jedhe and Dadaji Krishna Lohokare were also released, and Shahji asked them to help Shivaji with their forces in his attempts at conquest, and make the Mawal Deshmukhs submit to him. "Howsoever difficult an occasion may arise, without courting the loss, you should work for him. As you both entertain feelings of love and friendship for me, I trust you and send you to Shivaji. You must take an oath that you will be loyal."[3] He sent them with his letters to Shivaji. The Bijapur Sultan to cement his

Shahji's further conquests A.D. 1651—64.

[1] The *Muhammad Nama*—The *Shiva Bharat* says that Kondana and Bangalore were given, while the *Jedhe Sakhawali* mentions only Kondana.

[2] Sir J. Sarkar's statement that Shahji was "kept in prison along with his eldest son" does not seem to be correct, because the *Muhammad Nama* distinctly speaks about the message he sent to his sons who were then having under their control the forts of Kondana and Bangalore.

[3] *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 51.

friendship with Shahji granted him a jaghir of 12 gavs (120 miles) and the Province of Bangalore yielding 5 lakhs of *huns.*[1] Shahji was adorned with "the robes and the Wizarat." After three years of stay at the Bijapur court Shahji was sent again to the Carnatic in A. D. 1651. During the period of internal confusion between A.D. 1648 and A.D. 1651 Bijapur had been disabled from attending to the conservation, not to speak of any extension, of her conquests in the Carnatic, while Mir Jumla had consolidated his acquisitions in the Vijayanagar kingdom, and became the *de facto* ruler of the Golkonda conquests on the Coromandel Coast. The English Factory letters from Madras speak very much of his ability and bravery and his favourable relation with the Great Mughal. "The whole kingdom is governed by him of whom the people stand in fear and subjection unto as to the king himself."

Golkonda was dissatisfied with the division of spoils after the conquest of Gingee and complained that Bijapur absorbed the lion's share. Hence war arose between the victors and the *Radha-Madhava Vilasa Champu* says that Shahji as the general of Bijapur won a

[1] Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op., cit.*, p. 28.

crushing victory over Mir Jumla.[1] The Fort St. George letter of January 1652 refers to the rout of Mir Jumla. "Wars being commenced between the Moors of Golkondah and Vizapore, who, having shared this afflicted kingdom, are now bandying against each other, whilst the poor Jentue, hoping their mutual destruction, watches opportunity to break off his present miserable yoke. In the interim many bickerings have been within two days journey to this place, and it is reported that the Nawab with his whole army is besieged among the hills of Golkonda, whither he retired for the more safety, by the Vizaporias; which hath so distracted this country that we could not adventure your monies abroad without to Hazard."[2]

This defeat of Mir Jumla coupled with the victory of Shahji over Śrīraṅga at Jankal and the capture of Penugonda greatly enhanced the prestige of the Maratha general and showed to the world his martial genius.[3] After losing his capital, Śrīraṅga fled to Mysore and sought the

[1] "When Mir Jumla was shut up by all in the fort of Goote he began a stubborn fight, but never yielded any money; then he saw Shahji Bhonsle with his formidable army; he was afraid in his mind and being afraid came to terms." Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 23.

[2] *English Factories* 1651–54: p. 99.

[3] Dr. Balkrishna: *Shivaji*, Pt. I, pp. 139–40.

protection of Kanthīrava Narasa Raja[1] (A. D 1638–1659). Taking advantage of the absence of the Bijapur general, Khan-i-Khanan, and with the help of the Mysore ruler, Śrīraṅga reconquered a part of his dominions and repulsed the army of Golkonda which advanced against him. Tirumala Nāyak, instead of co-operating with his overlord, betrayed him at this crisis by opening the passage through the Ghats for the Muhammadan troops and urged them to declare war against Mysore. Śrīraṅga failed in the contest and was forced to seek refuge in the forests where he led a miserable life.[2]

Penukonda fell into Bijapuri hands in March 1653, after which the Bijapur commander-in-chief sought permission to march on to Gingee through the territory belonging to Mir Jumla. The latter refused to grant this passage and, apprehensive of the possible trouble, invited the king of Mysore and Śrīraṅga III to revolt against Bijapur. Śrīraṅga relying on Mir

[1] *La Mission du Madure III.* R. Satyanatha Iyer; *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 267.

"The unhappy Raja of the Karnatic had taken refuge with the Nayak of Mysore, who was at war with Bijapur. (Hague Transcripts, Vol. XVII, No. 518)." *The English Factories* 1651–54, p. xxv.

[2] *La Mission du Madure III.* R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 267.

Jumla's promises, returned to Vellore and raised an army in order to drive the Bijapuris out of his kingdom. Unfortunately for him, he was besieged in his fort at Vellore by the army of Bijapur, and was forced to conclude a treaty by which Chandragiri alone was left to him with the revenues of certain districts.[1] Thus the year 1653 may be said to mark the nadir of Śrīraṅga's fortune.

Soon after this, Mir Jumla tried to make himself the independent sovereign of the territory he had conquered in the Carnatic. His attempt was not countenanced by his Sultan; and this "drove him into the arms of Aurangzib with disastrous results to the Golkonda

[1] William Foster: Introduction.

"The war in the Carnatic was continued as strenuously as ever. According to the Dutch records, the Bijapur commander-in-chief, having mastered the important fortress of Penugonda in March 1653, thereupon requested permission to pass through the districts held by the Golkonda troops on his way to Gingee; but this was refused by Mir Jumla, who, alarmed at the success of the Bijapur troops, was animating the Nayak of Mysore against them and also making overtures to the Carnatic Raja. The latter, relying on Mir Jumla's promises, returned to Vellore and raised a large army, hoping to drive the Bijapuris out of the country. (Hague Transcripts, Series I, Vol. XIX, No. 550 (1). The issue of all this is told in a letter from Batavia of November 7, 1654 (N.S.) 'which states that the Bijapur general had, after a long siege, captured Vellore and concluded a treaty with the Raja by which Chandragiri was left to the latter, with the revenues of certain districts (*Ibid.* No. 551)." *The English Factories in India* 1651–54, p. xxxiii.

kingdom."[1] Emperor Shah Jahan promised to help Mir Jumla in his attempt to bring the whole of Golkonda territory under his sway.[2]

[1] Foster's Introduction in *English Factories*, 1651-54, p. xxxiv.

"And now when we hoped all would have been put in some good posture of government, to continue still those misseries (or rather to add a greater burden to it) our Nawab is lately up in arms against the King of Golkondah his master, whose commands he slighteth, intending (so far as is conceived) to keep what part of the country he hath conquered to himself; which if he can accomplish he will soon be as great a king as his master, and his yearly revenue little inferior to it.;" *English Faciories* 1651-54, p. 290.

[2] "The report runs that this king will send an army against Golkonda and Deccan (*i.e.* Bijapur) in favour of Mir Jumla, lately general of the king of Golkonda ('s) forces, who, having subdued the large territory of Rama Raja (1) is reported now to be in rebellion, proffering Shah Jahan to do his best to subject the whole country of Golkondah to his more absolute command." *English Factorics* 1655-60, p. 62.

The *Ma'athir-ul-Umara* gives the following account of Mir Jumla: "Mir Mu'azzam was one of the Saiyads of Ardestan of Isfahan. He came to Golkondah and through the favour and kindness of the great king he ascended the top-most rung of fortune's ladder. He had the entire control of the affairs of the government for a long time. During this period he brought under his sway a large territory from the Karnatak extending over about 150 kroh in length and 30 kroh in breadth. This country was yielding a revenue of forty lakhs of rupees, and had many diamond mines and strong forts like Kanjikota (Gandicotta-45 miles north-west of Cuddapah) and Siddhawat (Sidhaut-about 10 miles east of Cuddapah). The latter was known as the Balaghat of the Karnatak and was held by Kirpah (Cuddapah evidently) in those days. His power and wealth had reached to such an extent as that Mir Jumla could employ as his personal guard 5000 horse......... His son Muhammad Amin, who

The departure of Mir Jumla to the Imperial Mughal Court on 20th March 1656[1] afforded an opportunity for Śrīraṅga to attempt to reconquer his lost dominions and he succeeded in this attempt.[2] His failure to obtain Aurangzib's assistance even after promising to turn a Musul-

Emperor Sriranga's endeavours.

was in the court, had conceit in his head on account of the intoxication of youth and wealth. Being puffed up with the daily increasing power of his father, he set his worst foot forward beyond the proper limit. One day, he came to the royal court dead drunk, and slept on the royal cushion, thus disarranging the royal seat. This added insult to the injury and greatly vitiated the mind of the King against them. The marks of indifference continued to become more and more distinct as time went on; and Mir Jumla who had high hopes of being rewarded amply in recognition of his meritorious services in achieving the victories in the Karnatak felt very much at the results, which were quite against his expectations. He was greatly discouraged and disgusted. In the 29th year of the accession of Shah Jahan (1655 A.D.) he got access to Prince Muhammad Aurangzeb, who was then the Subhedar of the Deccan and requested him that he might be favoured with an invitation to the Imperial Court. On the recommendation of the Prince, His Majesty sent a royal *farman* to Mir Jumla, conferring upon him a rank of Five Hazari, Zat and Sowars and two Hazari, Sowars, to his son Mir Muhammad Amin."

B. D. Verma's tr. of the *Hadiqat-ul-Alam* in "*Qutbshahi of Golkonda*," pp. 69–70.

[1] Sir Jadunath Sarkar: *Aurangzib*, Vol. I, p. 242. "The Prince (Aurangzib) allowed permission to Mir Jumla to proceed to the Imperial Court with his son from his camp at Indur."

B.D. Verma: tr. of the *Hadiqat-ul-Alam* in *Qutbshahi of Golkonda*, p. 74.

[2] *English Factories* 1655–1660, p. 97.

man[1] did not in any way dishearten him. The following two English Factory letters illustrate Śrīraṅga's activities and his success.

"This long imprisoned king at last returned to his city, after (by report) the receipt of good news from the Mogul, who they say keeps the Nowab by him, and will not permit him to return to these countries again, and hath given him all the Curnatt (Carnatic) country to his disposal and years tribute free." [2]

"..............Besides the Gentues are now gathering to a head against the Moors; and if they should be victorious they would endeavour to do us a discourtesy in regard by the help of our guns and gunners (which formerly hath byn but them (*i.e.* the Moors) by your Agents here) they (*i.e.* the Gentues) lost their country; and therefore it is of concernment to be always in a posture of defence......"[3]

[1] Sir Jadunath Sarkar: *Aurangzib*, Vols. I and II p. 223.

[2] *English Factories* 1655–1660, August 2, 1656, p. 91.

[3] *English Factories* 1661–64, p. 382.

A Dutch letter from Batavia written about the end of January 1657 reveals to us that S'rīraṇga had captured Tirupati by that time, *i.e.* by the last months of 1656 and was planning out the conquest of the districts round about that place. The Qutb Shah himself had been designing to acquire Mir Jumla's territories in the Carnatic Payanghat as his own, but Shah Jahan had decided that these jaghirs should be treated as being

Thus by 1656 Śrīraṅga was able to recover a part of his dominions and entrusted the operations against Pulicat, where Mir Jumla had hidden his treasures, to Koneri Chetty[1] who betrayed him and fled before Tupaki Krishnappa, Mir Jumla's lieutenant.[2] Śrīraṅga seems to have suffered a defeat at Tupaki Krishnappa's hands.[3] His authority

held directly from the Emperor, and the Qutb Shah had been warned from putting forward any claims for them. Consequently, the Qutb Shah was inclined to encourage Śrīraṇga in his efforts. The letter written from Madras by Agent Greenhill on January 28, 1657 informs us that Śrīraṇga was assisted by Koneri Chetty who was his general in the region and all the country round about Poonamalle.

[1] "All these countries that were formerly conquered by the Nawab are now of late (in his absence at the Mughals Court) upon the revolt, the Jentue king with diverse Nagues being in arms; some of whose forces are now at the siege of Paleacatt, where it is said most of the Nawabs riches are stored." *English Factories*, 1655–60, p. 97.

[2] "The wars in these parts have been an exceeding hindrance to the progress of your business in this place; and the more through the treachery of Conarcity (Koneri Chetty) whom the Jentue king made his general in these parts about Poonamalle; which castle might have been easily brought in subjection; but he delayed the time until the Nawabs party had united their forces and formed a body to overpower him; whereupon he basely fled to this town with his army." *Ibid*, p. 97.

[3] "Since when the news hear touching the Nawabs proceeding in Deccan differs little from your relations, only the taking of Colburge reported by that party is contradicted; but it is said he is now at the siege of another strong place, called Callinara (Kalyani) where many bloody conflicts hath passed on both sides, which

dwindled and by 1662 it was centred only round Tanjore.[1] Golkonda went on extending her conquests, and with the year A.D. 1668 we may definitely mark the passing of the Carnatic from the Vijayanagar Empire into the possession of Golkonda, and Śrīraṅgarāya had to shift for himself outside this region.[2]

hath much retarded the expectation of his speedy conquest, and detained him from succoring his party in these quarters; who were lately so invironed by the Gentues that they could not have long subsided, had not the general Topa Kitsnappa, an old soldier, layed an ambuscada for a great party of the kings horse that hath been plundering and returning confidently (or rather carelessly) fell therein to; where though they lost not 100 men killed yet fled so amazedly that they put all the company in such a fear as most of them disbanded and fled, leaving the king and (his?) adjutant Shangee (Shangi) only with 1000 horse (and) foot;............ This unexpected defeat was about forty miles from this place; which is now so well provided as (we) do not much fear the worst (that) can happen, especially (as) our cause is so just." *Ibid*, pp. 135–36).

1 *English Factories* 1661–64, p. 174.

2 Dr. S. K. Iyengar on 'S'rirangarayalu' in the *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. I. p. 39.

The defeat of S'rīraṇga at the hands of Tupaki Krishnappa once for all destroyed all hopes of the Emperor to revive his authority and conquer his dominion. He was forced to abandon his capital altogether and take refuge in the west country. The year 1659 is marked by S'rīraṇga's taking shelter with the Mysore ruler, and we have got a definite grant of his dated 1661 conveying a gift to the Sringeri Mutt of a village in which S'rīraṇga is mentioned as ruling from Velapura or Belur on the banks of the Vishnusamudra. Subsequent grants mention S'rīraṇga at Belur. The second attempt to revive his power was equally short-

Golkonda and Bijapur were having very bad days as the Mughal viceroy, Aurangzib, corrupted their nobles with gold and dislocated their administration. The revolt of Mir Jumla and his adhesion to the Imperial service led to the sack of Golkonda by the Mughals. Equally great was the distress at Bijapur whose Sultan died on 4th November 1656 and was succeeded by an inexperienced youth of 18. This gave an opportunity for Aurangzib to undertake an actual expedition of aggression against Bijapur. He captured Bidar and Kalyani and invested Bijapur which would have fallen into his hands if Shah Jahan had not unexpectedly prohibited his siege. Bijapur agreed to pay an indemnity of 1½ crores of rupees, to surrender Bidar, Kalyani, Parenda, all the forts in the Nizamshahi Konkan and the district Wangi.[1] Due to this treaty of 1657 Bijapur was much crippled.

During this period Shahji, as the governor of what may be called Bijapur Karnatic, was engaged in the onerous task of quelling the

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lived. His first attempt was foiled by Mir Jumla who was helped by Bijapur; his second was frustrated by the forces of Golkonda and by the treacherous activities of Koneri Chetty and Tupaki Krishnappa. On both occasions he did not get the help of the southern feudatories. Thus foiled he died in A.D. 1672.

[1] Sir Jadunath Sarkar: *Aurangzib*, Vol. I and II, p. 251.

refractory chiefs. The Kanakgiri Polegar was subdued by Shahji[1] after the initial failure of Afzal Khan who was sent against him, and in which attack Sambhaji, the second son of Shahji, fell (1653).[2] This account of the death of Sambhaji is based on the information given by the Maratha historians. But there is inscriptional evidence which shows that Sambhaji lived upto the year 1663. His expedition against Kanakgiri was a great failure; and as the letter of Shahji shows, he had to conquer it again. It may be urged that "the only explanation one can possibly offer for such a disposal of Sambhaji by the Maratha chronicles was probably because they were misinformed of this Maratha defeat."[3]

There is a letter of Shahji[4] written to his master, the Adil Shah, in about July 1657 which throws clear light on Shahji's position in the Carnatic. The various expeditions which he undertook on behalf of the Bijapur Sultan are mentioned, and the names of such places as

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[1] Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[2] Sir Jadunath Sarkar: *Shivaji*, p. 38.

Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrathas*, Vol. I, p. 108. Takakhav: *Shivaji Maharaj*, p. 51.

[3] Saletore R. N.: 'Sambhaji in Karnataka' in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. XIII, Pt. I, p. 62.

[4] *Shivaji Souvenir*, pp. 138–141.

Kanakgiri, Anegondi, Bellary, Lakshmeshwar, Musalkal, Kadamveli, Tamgaud, Vaderu, Karve, Dilgoa and others are given. For sometime Shahji lived in the Tungabhadra region, and the letter mentions that he had to vacate Kampli on the river Tungabhadra, due to lack of fodder for his horses and to go to the district of Tamgaud. "I must remind your Majesty that I am a Rajput by race and will therefore never brook disgrace or disfavour while performing my duties to your Majesty. I have served four different courts till now, but never have I suffered indignities on any account. I have quietly and patiently put up with this treatment for the last eighteen months with hope and courage, but always with this full faith, that I would continue to receive the favour of your Majesty in the same manner, as I had always commanded it from your worthy father."[1] The Maratha soldier is righteously indignant and wants the Sultan to realize his faithful services. His tone is distinctly threatening in this letter; and "it appears from the mention of these places that Shahji's work of conquest included the vast region from the West Coast to the East, near about Gingee and from the Godavari in the north to about Tanjore in the south, a region which later his son Shivaji

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[1] *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 139.

strove with all his might to bring into his possession and named it 'Swaraj'".[1] In 1658 his son Ekoji was sent to capture the country round about Srisailam and the poet Jayaram, who accompanied Ekoji describes the successful operation and the conquest of the place.[2]

Tirumala Nayak died in A.D. 1659 and was succeeded by Muttuvirappa II who threw off the yoke of the Muhammadans by refusing to pay the annual tribute and by fortifying Trichinopoly which was the 'key to his dominions on their northern side.' The Tanjore Nayak Vijayaraghava (A.D. 1633–1673), instead of co-operating with his brother-ruler, entered into negotiations with the Bijapur court, and a Bijapur army under Shahji and Mulla Muhammad appeared before Trichinopoly. But observing that the said fortress was strongly protected they fell on Tanjore on the 19th March 1659, which, though impregnable, ultimately surrendered to the attack[3] owing to the cowardice of the generals. The Jesuit letter says that Vijayaraghava fled to Vallam leaving the defence of Tanjore to his son-in-law. Proenza

Conquest of Tanjore A. D. 1659

[1] *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 136.

[2] C. S. Srinivasachari: Shahji's achievement in the Carnatic—*Ninth Oriental Conference*, 1937, p. 783.

[3] According to Bhimsen, the conquest of Tanjore was made in this way: " Janjappa Naik, Polegar of Mudkal

writing from Trichinopoly in 1659 observes: 'This town (Tanjore) situated in the midst of a fertile plain was not inferior to the strong citadels of Europe. Defended by strong artillery and numerous troops, provisioned for several years, it could defy the besiegers, who had not a single cannon at their service. The commander of the fort, a son-in-law of the Nayak, boldly ascended the ramparts, and was struck by an arrow which inflicted a light wound on him; at once his bravery vanished, and he gave up the place shamelessly. The Rajas also protested against his cowardice. These are warriors of a very noble caste and renowned for their courage. They use only the sword and the lance; they scorn the bow and the gun, and leave, as they themselves say, these arms to cowards who dare not face danger closely. Their maxim is never to retreat before

(Madura) being at enmity with Panchi Ragla (Vijayaraghava), Zemindar of Tanjore, invited Shahji to his assistanee; and in conjunction they defeated the raja who was slain in the action, and possessed themselves of the capital and all his dominions. The allies quarrelling on the division of the plunder and the sum to be paid to Shahji for his services, he attacked Janjappa, slew him in battle and thus obtained an easy conquest of the Zemindaris of Tanjore and Mudkal, in which he obtained confirmation from the regency of Bijapar, and settled them on his son, Ekoji, whose posterity still hold them under the Nawab of Arcot, or rather, the British Government."

Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 158.

the enemy, to conquer or die is to them a sacred law. Faithful to this law, they threw themselves desperately amidst the conquerors and met with a glorious death, which they preferred to a dishonourable life. After conquering Tanjore, Shahji and Mulla proceeded towards Mannarkoil (Mannargudi) and easily took it. Then they advanced towards Vallam, 'three leagues south-east of Tanjore' where, they were informed Vijayaraghava had taken shelter with his family and hoarded treasures. The fort of Vallam built "on a steep rock within which ramparts are erected with incredible labour and expense," might have proved impregnable to the Muhammadans, if only Vijayaraghava had thought of defending it. But his cowardice overpowered his strength, for 'when the hour of peril was rung, he had no more faith in his courage than in the fidelity of his subjects; he sacrificed his dearest and fled to the forests of Talavarayan, his vassal. The army of Idal Khan (Adil Shah) was not even put to the trouble of attacking this third citadel. Those who defended it, frightened by the capture of the two principal towns, despaired to resist an enemy so formidable. Besides, actuated only by the feeling of self-preservation, without any kind of devotion for a king who deserved so little of them, they believed that they would be safer in their impenetrable forests than behind their ramparts. As soon as night came to cover

them, they escaped one after another without noise and with such perfect agreement, that, at daybreak, the commander found himself in a deserted town with only a few faithful followers. They themselves made up their mind to follow the fugitive; but when going off, they wished to take their share of the treasures which they abandoned to the enemy; they opened the coffers of the Nayak, took what they could carry of the most precious in gold, pearls and precious stones, and fled to the most inaccessible forests. Their strength was not in proportion to their greed.[1] When the commander fled in fear, the thieves of the neighbourhood entered the fort, and took possession of the "fabulous treasures which till then were not counted but in measuring them by the bushel." The fort was emptied of its riches and was saved "from the rapacity of the Muhammadans." By the time Shahji and Mulla arrived before Vallam, the fort was drained of its contents, and they stationed a small garrison in charge of it. They claimed to have occupied the beautiful and fertile Tanjore country. But the Bijapurians were not able to stay for long in Tanjore on account of a terrible famine which destroyed their men and horses

1 *La Mission du Madure III. Nayaks of Madura.* pp. 270–271.

in large numbers. Added to this, the disunion among the generals and officers of the army greatly frightened Mulla who proposed to the Nāyaks that he would leave the country in case they paid the three years' tribute. The Tanjore Nāyak was safe in the woods, and the strong fortress of Trichinopoly protected Muttuvirappa. Compelled to leave Tanjore due to the famine, Mulla marched on Trichinopoly and a second attempt on the fort failed, being defended as it was, by Lingama Nāyak, the Dalavay of Madura. Thereupon the Bijapur general retired after receiving a moderate sum.[1]

Chokkanatha Nāyak (A.D. 1659–1682), the energetic successor of Muttuvirappa, wanted to re-establish the power and authority of the Nāyaks and drive the foreigners from his land. With this object, he sent his general Lingama Nāyak at the head of forty-thousand men to attack Shahji and expel him from the Carnatic; but the latter bought him off and so corrupted the Madura nobles that they tried to dethrone Chokkanatha. However, assisted by the loyal party, Chokkanatha disposed of his enemies and tried to win over Lingama Nāyak under pretence of friendship. But the traitor Lingama brought a well-disciplined army of 12,000 infantry and 7,000 cavalry under Shahji on

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[1] R. Satyanatha Iyer : *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 273.

Trichinopoly and succeeded in corrupting the new commander of Chokkanatha's army. Undaunted by the defection of his general, Chokkanatha took up personally the command of the army and infused so much courage and confidence into his soldiers, that, fearing disastrous consequences, Shahji and Lingama Nāyak withdrew to Tanjore (1660). Thither Chokkanatha marched with 70,000 men and the Tanjore Nāyak submitted to him while Shahji and Lingama fled to Gingee.[1]

Capture of Tegnāpatam and Porto Novo by Shahji 1661.

Shahji's men captured Tegnapatam and this seriously dislocated the Dutch trade. The *Dagh Register* makes the following remark: "The war round the Fort Tegnapatam is finished and the fort has been delivered to Shahji's men on the 4th February 1661, so that Tegnapatam and the premises of the Company there are now under the command of Shahji."[2] Shahji plundered the town of Porto Novo, totally destroyed it and ruined its trade. The English Factory letter of 19th October 1661 contains a reference to the conquest of Porto Novo. "......and we have the like complaint to present concerning Xaigee (who is father to him that is the

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[1] R. Satyanatha Iyer's *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 275. *La Mission du Madure III*.

[2] *Dagh Register*; 1661, p. 126.

Visapore (Bijapur) general and hath Mr. Revington in durance); for he came in July last to Porto Novo and robbed and pillaged the town; whereof the Companies' merchants were the greatest loosers, having taken from them in elephants, callicoes, broad cloth, copper, benjamen (benzoin) etc., goods to the value of 30,000 pardawes, and are utterly unable to pay the Company their remains in their hands, being about 4,000 (Pagodas), unless our masters will license us to vindicate them by their shipping at sea, for this *Xaigee hath now Porto Novo in possession*. And shall expect your advice how you will direct us from the vindicating of our masters in their business and their merchants. These happening but two days before the arrival of Captain Kitnert in the *Concord* in that port; whom we had appointed to take in those effects, but instead of goods brought us there sad tidings............"[1]

Quarrel between Shahji and Lingama Nayak.

There seems to have been an estrangement between Lingama Nāyak and Shahji, for after the conclusion of an alliance between the Nāyaks of Tanjore and Madura he was actively engaged in pursuing the Bijapur general. From Porto Novo as his base, Shahji carried on plundering expeditions into the Tanjore king-

[1] *English Factories*, 1661-64, p. 50.

dom, and when Lingama Nāyak came to attack him, he retired into the interior and occupied his strong fortress at Arni. In order to relieve Arni, a bait was thrown by Antaji Pantulu who promised to give Arni to the Madura Nāyak in case he undertook the task of driving Shahji from that place. "If this could be done, the bigger part of the Province of Singier (Gingee) would be freed of the Visiapour Moors."[1] This was an arduous task.

Meanwhile, Shahji's cavalry was able to exhaust Lingama Nāyak and his troops by luring them into the interior parts of the province of Gingee and disabling them from carrying out any plan of attack at all. Lingama retraced his steps to the coast in order to take the castle of Tegnapatam which was one of the bases of Shahji's operations. When he was very near the castle, Shahji suddenly appeared with 80,000 horsemen and cut off his communications with his rear so that Lingama Nāyak was forced to abandon all ideas of a siege and to meet Shahji in open battle. But on the 22nd of September 1661, both the parties being equally anxious to avoid a struggle, came to an agreement by which Shahji was to retain Porto Novo and Tegnapatam and refrain from causing havoc to the countries of Tanjore and Madura.

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[1] *Dagh Register* 1661, p. 320. 18th October 1661.

The Maratha also agreed to release the son of the Tanjore Nāyak whom he had captured for a ransom of 50,000 *rials*. But since the party was unable to promptly pay the amount, Shahji's unruly horsemen pillaged the houses and shops of the traders of Porto Novo, causing much havoc thereby.[1]

In 1663 a Bijapur army under 'Vanamian' the most valiant of Adil Shah's captains, entered the Carnatic[2] and after effecting an agreement with Shahji by which Tegnapatam, Porto Novo and other places in the coast country were delivered to him, they proceeded to besiege Trichinopoly[3] whose Nāyak had failed to give the promised tribute, due to the confusion caused by a quarrel with his ally, the Tanjore Nāyak Vijayaraghava. This is what we learn of the affair from the *Dagh Register of July* 1663: "The Nayak of Madura shows much courage against the invaders, but the Nayak of Tansiower keeps idle and feeds the Visiapore army now and then with 40 or 50 thousand *pàrdaux*." Although the losses sus-

[1] *Dagh Register* 1661, p. 404. 30th Nov. 1661.

[2] *La Mission du Madure III*, R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 276.

"The war now agitated between the Moors of Vizapore and this our Nayak of Madura." *English Factories* 1661–64. p. 253.

[3] *Dagh Register* 1663 p. 365. 31st July 1663.

tained by the Muhammadan army were great, yet its operations completely ruined the surrounding country by its ruthless ferocity and appalling cruelty. Only on the payment of a large sum would the Bijapur commander be satisfied and withdraw.[1] Chokkanatha never forgave the treacherous action of Vijayaraghava of Tanjore, who, besides not paying his portion of the tribute which both had promised to pay Bijapur, refrained from helping him at this hour of his trial and also actively furnished food supplies to the enemy. To wreak vengeance on him, the Madura Nāyak appeared before Tanjore with a strong army.[2] According to the *Dagh Register*, " the war between the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura is not yet finished and the first mentioned Naigu is being besieged in his capital by his enemy."[3] After many skirmishes of minor importance, Vallam the strong bulwark of the Tanjore fort was captured[4] and the Nāyak of Tanjore compelled to secure peace with a heavy price.[5]

[1] *La Mission du Madure III:* R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 276.

[2] Ibid.

[3] *Dagh Register* 1663, p. 549, 14th Nov. 1663.

[4] *La Mission du Madure III:* R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 277.

[5] "The Nayak of Tanjore has closed peace with the Nayak of Madura at the price of 500,000 pardeaux which is a big sum of money." *Dagh Register* 1664, p. 154. 12th May 1664.

The extraordinary success which attended Shahji in his various campaigns might have encouraged him to deem himself strong enough to proclaim his independence. Already in 1657 he had complained in very strong and indignant language about the discourteous treatment which the Adil Shah meted out to him, and threateningly observed that he was prepared to quit the Shah's service. Shivaji, his son, had greatly succeeded in his attempts, and by A.D. 1660 had extended his power "from the South Poona District to the Satara District and to the Konkan, from Mahauli to Mahad."[1] The heavy hand of Bijapuri vengeance which tried to crush Shivaji was lopped off in A.D. 1659 when he skilfully despatched Afzal Khan 'the long-armed Muhammadan' to the heavens. Shahji had no sympathy for the queen-mother who was the *de facto* sovereign in the State, ruling in the name of her minor son. Revington thought that Shahji and Shivaji would combine their forces at this juncture and lead an army into Bijapur and conquer it. "One months time more will, we believe, put an end to this trouble; for Shivaji's father, Shahji, that lies to the southward is expected within eight days with his army, consisting of 17,000 men, and then

The Second Imprisonment of Shahji. 1663.

[1] Sir Jadunath Sarkar: *Shivaji and his Times*, pp. 57–58.

they intend for Bijapur, the king and queen's residence whose strength consists only in men and they are not above 10,000 soldiers; so that in all probability the kingdom will be lost." This eventuality did not arise. On the other hand, Shahji contrived in the years 1660–62 to conquer Tanjore, Tegnapatam and Porto Novo and to completely paralyse the hostile movements of the Nāyaks of Madura and Tanjore. The *Dagh Register* of Batavia mentions the possibility of the formation of an alliance between the Nāyaks, Shahji and other rulers of the South, with the object of driving out the Muhammadans from the land. The native rulers however would not trust Shahji for long; they fell out with him and even directed their forces on him. "The Nāyaks of Madura and Tanjore and the commander Shahji, Antosie Pantele and Lingama Nāyak have met to conclude an offensive and defensive contract which is a serious thing to us. And therefore the governor has excused the intended visit of the Masulipatam settlement. But afterwards the governor was informed that the contract mentioned above had been cancelled and that the Nayaks had secretly conferred to attack Shahji."[2]

[1] Revington's letter dated 10th December 1659 *English Factories* 1655–1660, p. 251.

[2] *Dagh Register* 16th May 1661, p. 161.

Bahlol Khan Shah Jahani was now sent by the Bijapur *durbar* to put down Shahji and take possession of the territories under him. "The said residents further advice that the Nāyak of Tanjore had come to an agreement with Balbulachan, the commander-in-chief of Bijapur whereby he promised to pay 300,000 *pardaux*. And the said commander-in-chief will now proceed to the fortresses Arni and Wingeloer against the rebel Shahji."[1] But Shahji cleverly won over the commander-in-chief to his side, and the Bijapur court became alarmed at this ominous combination. Being threatened by an imminent Mughal invasion it consented to condone for the moment the disloyalty of its generals, and under the pretence of reconciliation, invited both to meet their master at Bankapur. The Sultan himself came down to Bankapur in order to subdue Shivappa Nāyak of Ikkeri.[2] Here he demanded the person of Bahlol Khan; but his mother refused this. "It is certain that the King, Queen, and all the nobles in Bijapur are gone to Bangapur, where

[1] Ibid. 11th April 1663, p. 147.

[2] "This country is at present in much unquiet, and dangerous for merchants caphilas to pass up and down, by reason of the difference that is between the king of Canara and the king of Deccan, who hath an army of 15,000 horse and 20,000 foot in readiness to give his enemy battle who is thought to be as potent as the other." *English Factories* 1661–1663, p. 239.

they are denied entrance by Bulla Khan's mother, by reason Bulla Khan (Bahlol Khan) and the King are at great variance."[1]

It appears that Bahlol Khan and Shahji were arrested at Bankapur and put in chains. The account of this arrest of Shahji and his companion may be best gleaned from the following Factory Letter of 20th July 1663 :—
"This Jassud (messenger) sweares before he came out of Bunkapur he saw irons put on Bussall Khan and Shajee (Shahji) (Shivaji's father), *but taken off of the latter in two days; who is now with the king without command.* Bussall Khan's mother denying the king entrance into Buckapore, the king wrote to Shahji to persuade Bussall Khan to come and stand to his mercy, for the king being denied entrance, was so incensed that, if he stood out any longer, would never have pardoned him, and now he could not hope to be able to withstand him, the kingdom being at peace since the king conquered Shep-Nayak, a Carnatic Rajah, and brought him to a composition of 700,000 pagodas. The rebelling of this Rajah was the cause of the kings going for Bankapore. At last Shahji persuaded Bussall Khan to go to the king, upon condition that he would accompany him; which he did,

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[1] Ibid. p. 235.

and so the king trapanned them both."[1] But soon Shahji was pardoned and restored to his governorship of the Carnatic. Other reasons also compelled the Sultan to treat Shahji warmly.

The daring exploits of Shivaji had greatly unnerved Adil Shah who through the mediation of Shahji contrived to effect a treaty with him and granted him a *farman* which made him the master of the places in and round Bijapur.[2] Shahji was greatly gratified at this *rapprochement* between his son and his master, and was 'most anxious to meet again a son whose valour and good fortune had well proved invincible.'[3] The Adil Shah graciously granted the prayer of Shahji who was deputed to advise his son not to disturb henceforward the tranquillity of Bijapur, but perform acts which will further cement their friendship.

Meeting of Shahji and Shivaji. 1663.

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[1] *English Factories* 1661–63, pp. 242–43.

[2] Ibid. p. 230.

"The Bijapur government granted all Shivaji's demands (A.D. 1662). He was left in possession of his conquests from Kalyan in the north to Phonda in the south and from Dabhoi in the west to Indapur in the east, and his complete independence was acknowledged. Both parties undertook to defend the other from foreign aggression. And Shivaji took a solemn oath not to molest Bijapur during Shahji's life time." *A History of the Maratha People:* Kincaid and Parasnis, p. 49.

[3] Takakhav and Keluskar: *Life of Shivaji Maharaj*, p. 204.

Shahji now paid a visit to Maharashtra with his second wife Tukabai and her son Vyankaji, and after worshipping at the holy shrines of the land, reached Jejuri where Shivaji awaited him. Bhimsen picturesquely describes the meeting between the father and son: "Shivaji not withstanding his (Shahji's) remonstrances, ran ten miles on foot by the side of his palanquin; and on his alighting at his palace seated him on the *musnad;* while he himself took his slippers and stood among the menial attendants. Shahji spent two months with his son and first wife in mutual interchanges of affection. Shivaji on this occasion obtained the deserved applause of all mankind for his conduct to a parent, who had hitherto, from his birth shown him no marks of affection but rather treated him as an alien of the family."[1] Shivaji asked pardon from his father for all the misdeeds he had done which elicited the following remark from Shahji: "Your deeds, indeed, are no misdeeds, but such as may be expected from a scion of the *Sesodia* line of warriors. I am proud and gratified to behold the record of valorous deeds by which you have vindicated and established the civil and religious liberty of your countrymen. You have fulfilled the family tradition that there should be born in our house, a ruler who was

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[1] Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.,* p. 165.

destined to inaugurate a new era and restore the Hindu liberties and religion. Your valour and wisdom have revived the glories of our historic house. What greater happiness is in heaven or on earth than to have been the father of such a glorious son?" [1] After this momentous interview Shahji was taken to all the important fortresses that had been conquered by Shivaji and the experienced general advised the younger conqueror to select Rairi from among these as his capital. From this impregnable fortress Shiva bade defiance to his enemies.

Shahji's death; 23rd Jan., 1664.

Shahji did not live long after his return to the Carnatic. He went down to the Mysore plateau to assist the Bijapur troops engaged in reducing the disobedient chiefs of the Shimoga District. One day when he was out on a hunting expedition, he fell from his horse, and the fall proved fatal.[2] "A splendid mausoleum was erected to his memory."[3] The news of the death of

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[1] Takakhav and Keluskar: *Life of Shivaji Maharaj* p. 207.

[2] "The Raja's father Shahji Maharaj, who lived at Bangalore, suddenly died of a fall from his horse at Bogdaie a village in the province of Chitradurga, while coming towards Bijapur." Sen: *Sivachhatrapati*, p. 90.

[3] Patwardhan and Rawlinson; *op. cit.*, p. 165.

Dr. M.H. Krishna, Director of Archaeology, Mysore, has discovered the tomb of Shahji at Hodigere, situated

Shahji caused much grief to Shivaji and Jijabai, and the latter determined to commit *sati*, but refrained from doing so, due to the entreaties of her noble son.

Thus ended the glorious life of one of the greatest men of the seventeenth century. A loyal servant, an able leader and a brilliant administrator, Shahji was great in every respect. He was mainly responsible for the penetration

at a distance of about six miles to the east of Channagiri and a mile to the north of the Bhadravati—Chitaldrug road. He has traced a part of the stone inscription which reads thus : '*Sri Shahji Rajana Sa*(*madhi*) ' This epigraphical evidence, says Dr. Krishna, is corroborated by the following extracts taken from Sardesai's *Marathi Riyasat.* (p. 82).

"The Bednore Naik rebelled against his master Adil Shah and delayed for long his tributes. Shahji was sent to bring the Naik to his senses and compelled the latter to make ample amends for his mistake.

"Adil Shah was immensely pleased at Shahji's success. So he sent him a congratulatory letter, clothes and jewels, horses and elephants as presents.

"To settle the new territories where peace was established Shahji was *encamped at Hodikeri, near Basavapatna.*

"This village was infested by wild beasts ; the Raja liked to hunt them ; then the leg of the horse was caught in a hole and both stumbled to the ground. Instantly Shahji lost his senses.

"On 23rd January 1664 A.D. his funeral ceremonies were conducted by Ekoji, his son.

"Adil Shah heard of this misfortune and gave the robes of the *mansab* to Ekoji.

of Bijapur arms in the south which set at nought the endeavours of Śrīraṅga III at imperial unification. He consolidated under his sway the Bijapur Carnatic and bequeathed it as his heritage to his son Vyankaji. More than this, he had shown by his example and achievement the pioneer path of effecting Hindu consolidation. Like Hamilcar to whom he has been compared, Shahji paved the way for Shivaji's final triumphs over his enemies. "Hamilcar, from his Sicilian stronghold, first showed his countrymen that with mobility and good generalship, the Carthaginian army could hold its own against the superior discipline of the Roman legion. Shahji first showed the Deccan that Hindu troops under a Hindu leader could, with rapid movements and local knowledge, prove a match for the picked forces of Delhi or Bijapur."[1]

Shahji Bhonsle was a man of firm determination and strong will, capable of realizing his ambitious schemes and making the enemy recognise the hidden genius in him. He was

"Shivaji heard the news soon after his sack of Surat. On the place of the demise of Shahji, Shiva built a pavilion."

- Dr. M. H. Krishna Shahji's Tomb at Hodigere: *Proceedings of the Tenth Oriental Conference*, 1940, pp. 429–431.

[1] Kincaid and Parasnis: *A History of the Maratha People*, Vol. I, p. 208.

a born leader of men and a past-master in that predatory type of fighting (guerilla), which, under the encouragement of Malik Ambar, became the most potent weapon of the Deccani soldiers for harassing the Mughal army operating in the south. The astute Ambar recognized the martial qualities of Shahji and utilized him to his purposes. The victory of Ahmadnagar in the battle of Bhatwadi (1624) was due in a large measure to the valour and tactics of Shahji and other Maratha leaders.

Shahji's character and administration

The conclusion of Sir J. Sarkar[1] that during the regency of Malik Ambar, Shahji was an insignificant captain and that he rose to independent and high command only under Fath Khan does little credit to the Maratha general. Even under Malik Ambar, Shahji was a recognized captain and when he entered Bijapur service, he was given the title of 'Sarlashkar' and 'Maharaja.'[2] For three years from 1625 to 1628 Shahji was in Bijapur service for the first time; and during this period he impressed the Adil Shah by his valour and intrepidity for he won the laurels in every battle he was engaged in. He defeated the powerful Lord of Phaltan, Nimbalkar, and conquered Kerala and Karnatak

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[1] Sir J. Sarkar: The Rise of Shahji Bhonsla, *Modern Review*, September 1917.

[2] *Patra Sar Sangrah*, p. 262.

and thereby filled the treasury of Ibrahim Adil Shah, giving him great satisfaction.[1]

If Shahji was great as a soldier, his determination to make himself independent of external control was equally undoubted. The atrocious murder of his father-in-law, Jadhav Rao, by order of the Adil Shah owing to the sinister influence of Fath Khan over the Sultan, culminated in his abandonment by Shahji who went over to the Mughal service; and Shah Jahan being only too glad to get his services invested him with the jaghirs of Junner, Sangamner, Bijapur and Bugole.[2] But when the Mughal Emperor negotiated with Fath Khan and transferred the above mentioned jaghirs to him, Shahji in a fit of anger left Mughal service and raised the banner of revolt (1632). The fortress of Pemgiri was strengthened and he 'laid the foundations of an independent monarchy.'[3] He conquered the neighbouring region, and within a short time his 'new acquisition extended from Poona-Chakan to the Konkan on the one side and from Junner and Sangamner to the precincts of Ahmadnagar and Daulatabad.'[4] There is inscriptional evidence to show that

[1] Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 8.

[2] *Orme Mss.* Vol. 331.

[3] Balkrishna: *Shivaji*, Pt. I, p. 84.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 84.

Nasik and Sangamner belonged to Shahji at this time.[1] The efforts of Shahji to prevent the capture of Daulatabad by the imperial troops were not successful and the pusillanimous surrender of the place by Fath Khan impelled him to revive the Nizam Shahi state, in defiance of the Mughal conquest. He set up a puppet monarch, Murtiza Nizam Shah, and had him enthroned in the hill-fort of Pemgiri in September 1632;[2] and he took forcible possession of Shivneri and many other hill forts that had belonged to the Nizam Shah. Gradually occupying the valleys of the holy Godavari, the Pravara, the Nira and Bhima, he established his rule over that country and also over the Sahyadri region.[3] Shahji was not able to continue in this quasi-royal position for a long time, for the conclusion of a pact between Bijapur and the Mughals in 1636 resulted in a vigorous attempt to capture him. Reducing his forts one after another, the Mughals finally besieged him in the stronghold of Mahauli.[4] Finding that he had no other course, he submitted to Mughal authority and entered the service of the Adil Shah who had been instructed to conciliate him. He had to

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[1] *Patra Sar Sangrah*, 375 and 376 dated 1633–34.

[2] Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[3] *Ibid*. p. 10.

[4] *Ibid*, p. 28.

choose between losing everything and entering the Adil Shah's service under which he could secure opportunities for attempts at independence. Shrewd as he was, he preferred the second alternative.

With Randulla Khan Rustam-i-Zaman, the Bijapur commander, Shahji played a conspicuous part in extending the authority of the Sultan in the Carnatic. The conquests of Ikkeri, of Sira, of Bangalore, of Basavapattan, and other forts, were all achieved between the years 1637–1646.[1] Śrīraṅga's ally Jagadeva, Raja of Kaveripatam, was forced to take refuge in Krishnadurg, and the Emperor was besieged in the fort of Vellore under the walls of which a terrible battle was fought. Shahji commanded the right wing of the victorious army and the Rāya bought peace on a payment of 50 lakhs of huns and 150 elephants (1648). During all these

[1] The *Shiva Bharat* of Paramānanda thus sums up Shahji's triumphs during these years : " By the use of the six expedients and by means of various strokes of policy, Shahji brought the whole of Carnatic territory under subjection. The suppliant Jagga Deva received his command with his head bent in obeisance, as if it were a flower. 'The Lord of Madura, albeit formidable, became obedient to Shahji. The King of Mysore, too became subject. Vīrabhadra through his help once more took his seat on this throne, which had been forcibly taken away by the wicked Randulla Khan. Owing to the power of the shrewd Shahji who employed each different device on each different occasion, many gave up all fear of Muhammadans." *Ibid.* p. 28.

campaigns Shahji served his master with unimpeachable loyalty. But official recognition was not given. In this connection, it has to be recorded that Zahur, the author of *Muhammad Nama*, though he claims to base his narrative on official records, was too much of a partisan of Mustafa Khan, Khan-i-Baba, an enemy of Shahji, to be just and impartial in his estimates of the Maratha and his achievements. "In all these wars Shahji might have taken more prominent part, but unfortunately either the despatches have not been unearthed yet or lost, and the account of these wars which is before us was written by a poet, a protege of Mustafa Khan."[1] But during the siege of Gingee (1648) when the Bijapur commander made common cause with Golkonda instead of helping his protege, the Nāyak of Madura, Shahji had to protest. This was an attitude of a serious nature and the Nawab could not countenance it and had him arrested. But his subsequent release and his restoration to the Carnatic governorship show the important position he occupied in Bijapur affairs and the urgency felt by the court for regaining his services to control the southern districts.

The year 1660 marks the *apogee* of Shahji's career. In South Indian politics he was the

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[1] B. D. Verma in *Shivaji Nibandhavali*, p. 123.

master spirit, and he successfully thwarted the attempts of Muttuvirappa and his son Chokkanatha, the Nāyaks of Madura, in consolidating their power and punishing the Tanjore Nayak. Added to this, Shahji sowed seeds of dissension in the court of the Madura Nayak and won over to his side many of their nobles. His marked achievement, along with the alarming successes of his son, encouraged him to entertain hopes of overthrowing the kingdom of Bijapur itself and setting up a Hindu Raj in its place. Of course he did not do that. In 1661 he took Tegnapatam and Porto Novo and wasted the energies of Lingama Nāyak who was sent to capture him. Shahji's activities shocked the Adil Shah, who, unable to punish him, openly resorted to the cowardly act of arresting him when he came to see the Sultan at Bankapur. But Shahji was pardoned and restored to his jaghir.

It is rather difficult to understand why Shahji refrained from pursuing his imperial projects and carving for himself an independent kingdom. Probably the precarious position which he occupied as the governor of Bijapur and his presence in the midst of warring and hostile chiefs who had lost all faith in an attempt at the consolidation of the Hindu front to oppose the Musalmans, prevented him from declaring himself the *de facto* ruler of the conquered areas. Both Tanjore and Madura possessed in a large

measure narrow parochialism and a spirit of vendetta which would not countenance their subordination for the rearing up of the ideal for which Shahji fought. Verily, where Śrīraṅga III had failed, Shahji could not have succeeded. All that Shahji did was to conquer those parts which opposed him and leave the work of consolidation to his successors.

Dr. S. K. Iyengar thinks that Shahji "does certainly appear as having been mainly responsible for the destruction of the empire of Vijayanagar." * This view seems to be a little strange, for there is no instance in the career of Shahji to show that he wilfully attempted to liquidate the Hindu States and plant the Bijapur banner. Did not Shahji reinstate Virabhadra of Bednur on his throne, though his kingdom had been completely annexed by Randulla Khan? And as he conquered one district after another, Shahji did not completely dispossess the rulers, and this is evident from the fact that he gave Tarikere to the chief of Basavapattan, Magadi to Kempe Gouda of Bangalore, Anekal to the Hoskota chief and Ratnagiri to the Sira chief. Moreover, Shahji's arrest before Gingee was due to the fact that he carried on collusive negotiations with Śrīraṅga III in order to save the Emperor from the predicament in which he was

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* *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. XI. p. 404.

placed. And how then could Shahji be charged as mainly instrumental for the destruction of the Vijayanagar Empire? Śrīraṅga III was not able to maintain the integrity of his empire, and the insubordination of his feudatories paralysed his activities. Tirumala Nāyak went to the extent of inviting the Muhammadans to help him in his attempt at frustrating the imperial aspirations of his master. For the crumbling of the Vijayanagar empire, the forces that worked within were alone responsible, and there seems to be no logic in throwing it on the shoulders of Shahji who tried his utmost to champion the Hindu cause at the risk of losing his personal liberty. Even granting that Shahji had entered Vijayanagar service, he could not have helped the Hindu empire to continue for a longer time, much less be the founder of a Maratha Raj in the south. He would have been beset with the same problems which faced Śrīraṅga III and would have failed like him in the end. So long as there was no union among the Hindu chiefs and so long as they looked to the Mussulmans for settling their disputes, neither Śrīraṅga nor Shahji could have succeeded in establishing a lasting Hindu state. If Shahji had taken up the cause of Vijayanagar, he will be remembered as one of those valiant heroes who fought to achieve an ideal, but failed to achieve it because the enemies were numerous and their

strength enormous. Bijapur and Golkonda in their attempts to expand their territories at the expense of Vijayanagar would have crushed Shahji if he had opposed them. Like Śrīraṅga III Shahji would have fallen with a falling empire. Under these circumstances the best that Shahji could do was to remain in the service of the Bijapur Sultan and fight for the cause of the Hindus. There is no manner of doubt that he succeeded in achieving this ideal, and it is not fair to say that "throughout his career we never find in him any higher ideas of nationality or religion," and that "the only aim of his life seems to be to work for his master and aspire for his favours." † If what Mr. Diskalkar says is true, then Shahji had lived in vain. We must never judge Shahji by modern standards.

The fascinating career of this soldier of fortune came to an end in 1664. "Judged by the combined evidence Shahji, the Maratha, appears to have been a man of ability, both as a soldier and as an administrator."[1] Throughout his career his guiding motive was to give that moral support which would enable his son Shivaji to establish himself on a permanent

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† D. B. Diskalkar in his article on 'Shahji's Relations with Vijayanagar,' *Vijayanagar Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume*, p. 122.

[1] Dr. S. K. Iyengar: The Rise of the Maratha Power:—*Journal of Indian History*, Volume IX, p. 214.

footing in his native land. He tried to make himself independent[1] of the Musalman's sway, but he was not wholly successful and his example was taken up by Shivaji. It is in this that Shahji's greatness rests and in fact he may be classed as one of those constructive statesmen who sought and succeeded in paving the way for the realization of the aspirations of a mighty race.

Shahji's administration.

To restore order and establish an efficient administrative machinery in the newly conquered territories in the Carnatic, the Bijapur Sultan could choose only Shahji whose military skill and administrative talents abundantly justified his choice. The Bijapur province in the south included Bangalore, Kolar, Hoskota, Dod-Ballapur, and Sira and to which was later on added Gingee, Tanjore, Tegnapatam and Porto Novo. To this dangerous post Shahji was appointed as governor; and he set himself most whole-heartedly to do away with the elements of anarchy and restore order and peace. While he was in the service of the Ahmadnagar Sultan

[1] Shahji was a man of considerable talents; in-order to establish an independent kingdom he reconciled his Hindu subjects and "observed in his new system as much moderation as was consistent with the indispensable object of collecting a large and regular supply of revenue." Wilks: *History of Mysore*, Vol. II, p. 46.

he had carefully enforced the financial regulations and administrative principles formulated by the able Malik Ambar and had fully taken in all the lessons. He was easily able to have a grip over the complicated administrative machinery of the Carnatic forts and districts.

As the representative of the Bijapur government in the Carnatic he was called up to destroy the indigenous administrative system and introduce that which was in vogue in Bijapur. Further he had to perform the other duty far more unpleasant to his Hinduising tendencies, of discountenancing Hindu aspirations and Islamising the whole province. Far from carrying out these objects, it is a testimony to the greatness and far-sighted vision of Shahji that he not only continued the indigenous system of administration handed down from the days of Vijayanagar but became the active protector of South Indian Hindu culture and literature. Shahji effected a new revenue settlement in his dominions which not only gave him much income but left the people with sufficient money as to make them prosperous. The financial aspects were carefully considered. In order to build up a sound fiscal system Shahji brought a band of Maratha Brahman accountants who spared no pains in that direction. Slowly Marathi became the common language and a large number of Marathas came to be appointed to official posts,

Nor did Shahji forget to emulate and patronise men of letters. He was himself an adept at poetical composition and his court poet, Jayarama, compares him to Arjuna in bravery, to Vikramaditya in generosity and to King Bhoja in learning. The poet further mentions the names of 75 pandits proficient in different languages who adorned the court of Shahji; and living in the company of such learned men Shahji must have become a poly-linguist.[1] This is a doubtful proposition.

Revenue system.

As Shahji went on increasing his conquests and annexations, he followed a most remarkable policy of conciliation and consolidation. He gave the lands of the dispossessed chief to his own men, while for the former he provided lands in an uncultivated area. "This resulted in bringing under cultivation and attracting population to the more neglected tracts of the country. Thus Basavapatam and its possessions being retained Tarikere was given to the polegar; Bangalore was taken, but Magadi left to Kempe Gauda; similarly Hoskote was taken and Anekal granted; Kolar was taken and Punganur granted; Sira was taken and Ratnagiri granted."[2] The Bijapur general Randulla

[1] Dr. Balkrishna: *Shivaji*, Part I, p. 57.

[2] Hayavadana Rao: *Mysore Gazetteer*, (New Edition) Vol. II, Pt. IV, p. 2428.

Khan divided the conquered area into *parganas* and introduced the subordinate divisions of *samats, tarafs, mauje, mujare* of each pargana, while *jamadars* or collectors were appointed for the realisation of revenue. During the days of the Vijayanagar rule the accountants were called *samprati;* but when Maratha accountants migrated into the Carnatic in large numbers and appropriated for themselves all key positions of the administration, they introduced the different offices of *deshpande, deshkulkarni, sar-nad-gaud, deshmukhi* and *kanungo,* by whom the accounts of the country were kept. Sheristadars were appointed to all the *parganas.* "When jaghirs were granted to the *killedars* and the *mansabdars* by the Sarkar, the revenue accounts of the districts for the last years were previously examined, and the new revenue rated annually on the jaghir to be granted. In fixing the revenue thus established, the *inams* or free gift lands, land customs, &c., were discontinued or deducted, and the net revenue more less than the former, ascertained by means of the jamadars."[1]

Definite functions were assigned to every member of the administrative service. The *kaul patta* or the contract or lease for the revenue

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[1] Rice: *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 589.

was to be written by the *deshkulkarni*, while the *deshpande's* duty consisted in affixing his signature in Marathi characters at the bottom of the contract paper. The *deshmukhi*, *kanunga* and *sar-nad-gaud* must also affix their signatures in the written deed and the *amildar* had to seal it. "The particular accounts of the Parganas were kept as follows: the *Shanbhog* was to keep the written accounts of the *mauje* or village, the *Deshkulkarni* to keep the accounts of the *Samats*, the *Deshpande* the accounts of the *Payanas*, and the *Kanunga* to sign the *patte* or revenue agreements. He was also to keep a written register of the revenue of the district, to be delivered to the Sarkar. It was the duty of the *Deshmukhi* and *Sar-Nad-Gaud* to control and inspect all accounts, and report them to their superiors; they were also to inquire and report generally on all affairs, and the settlement of the district."[1]

Previously the accounts had all been kept in the Kannada language, but when the Marathas became the rulers of the Carnatic they introduced the Marathi tongue which became the language of the administration; and public accounts were maintained in that language. "Even in the Samasthans of the Polegars, where the revenue and military accounts had

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[1] Ibid.

been kept in Kannada alone, some of them beginning then to entertain large bodies of horse, employed Maratha accountants to check the pay accounts in that language for the satisfaction of the horsemen of that nation."[1] It was only when the Mughals established their rule in the subah of Sira (circa 1700) that Persian language came into administrative use.[2]

Shahji employed his eldest son Sambhaji for the administration of his territories, while he himself spent his time pleasantly at Bangalore.

Grants and other gifts

According to the *Sabhasad*, Sambhaji acted as the Subhedar of Kanakgiri.[3] The time-honoured practice of granting or bestowing lands on

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[1] Rice: *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, pp. 589-90.

[2] "When the Mughals conquered these parts they did not disturb or change the prevailing administrative system." "Officers for collecting and managing the revenues were appointed in the amani districts only; at the same time, the offices of Deshmuki, Deshkulkarni, and Sar-Nad-Gaud were formed into one office. Deshpandes, Majumdars, Kanungoyas, and Kulkarnis were maintained according to the forms long established in the dominions of Bijapur. The Deshmuk was to settle the accounts with the patels; the Deshpande to check the accounts of the karnams; the Kanunga to register the official regulations and to explain the ordinances and regulations to the inhabitants and the public officers to prevent errors or mistakes. In the Majumdar's office, the accounts of the settlement were made out and issued."

C. Hayavadana Rao: *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. IV, p.13.

[3] Sen: *Sivachhatrapati*, p.158.

others was followed by the Marathas. An inscription found at Haucarahalli, Dodda Ballapura taluk, Mysore State, dated Wednesday, 3rd March 1647 states that "Sambhaji Raya granted Canna *Basappa Vader* (Vodeyar) of the Sajji Matha people's matha, the Hacipura village."[1] There is also another record found at Lakkur hobali in the Nelamangala taluk, and dated A.D. 1657 which calls Shahji as a 'Maharaj' and speaks about his grant. It reveals how "Ajarkan Maharaj Sri Sahuj Raja Saheb, in that merit might be to himself, made grants of lands (specified) to Bavanur Ahmmad in Lakkur."[2] An inscription of 1653 says "that the Rajathiraja Rajaraja Sambhaji Raja Maharaja's son Kannarayaji Pandita buying Kondigunahalli granted it to a person as a *Kattu godagi*."[3]

The Vijayanagar kings granted lands as *umbali* in sasanam and we have six types of *umbali* grants made by them.[4] The Marathas who succeeded the Vijayanagar kings inherited their practices and made *umbali* grants. An epigraph of A.D. 1660 says that the Rajadhiraja Khavana Sahebayya granted to Siddhalinga

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[1] *E.C.* IX, D.B. 28, p. 64.

[2] *E.C.* X, N. 169, p. 46.

[3] *E.C.* X, Mb. 154, p. 111.

[4] R. N. Saletore: Beginnings of the Maratha Administrative System in the Karnatak. *J.B.B.R.A.S.* 1939.

Gauda the Nagavalli village of the Cannapatna-sthala of Kelalenad as an *umbali*.[1] Arrangements were made to collect the revenue and the *Karyakarta* was charged not only to attend to the settlement of land disputes but also to the financial administration of the district under his jurisdiction.

Lands were also given for the construction and repair of tanks for purposes of irrigation. There is a grant of A.D. 1654 made by Sambhaji Raja's agent to an individual for the construction of a tank. The grant says: "The Rajadhiraja rajamanya rajasri Sambhoji Raja Maharaja rayya's agent for the border district of the Kola-la-Sime, Kanyaja Pant and others, on the Komatis of Kolala abandoning it, gave to Chandaya Tambarahalli Depa-Gauda, land under the Muduvadi Mallasamudra tank, with a sasana for reconstructing it......... and Bolaji Panditarayya having given permission, they granted land (specified) in Mallasamudra and Muduvadi —both together, 49 kandugas of rice land."[2] Perhaps the Komatis of Kolala might have abandoned that place due to dearth of water which was later on remedied by a grant of sasana.

[1] *E.C.* IX, CP. 26, p. 139.

[2] *E.C.* X, Kl. 193, p. 60.

When such a sasana or *kattukodige* was granted, some specified amount from the produce of the land was expected by the state. Two inscriptions can be cited to illustrate this point. In A.D. 1661 Rajamanya rajasri Vilaji Pandita Viraya granted to Vedige Ganapati a *kattukodige* with the following agreement. "You having caused the tank of Bangavadi belonging to our Dalasanur-sthala to be built, and a batya-kodage being granted to you—every year you will grant from the produce (various amounts to the *desayi* as specified, from the Kartika and Vaisakha crops)."[1] Here is an indication that the *sasana* holder should pay to the state certain amount from the periodical produce obtained from the land. There is a record of Sambhaji Raja dated A.D. 1662 which speaks about the specific fees to be made to the State. The record is found at Holur, Holur hobali, Kolar taluk, and runs thus: "The Rajadhiraja Rajasri Sambhaji Rajasaheb gave to Alambigiri Tippi-setti and Varanasi Chennagauda a *kodige-sasana* as follows: "You having caused the old tank of Holur belonging to Kolala to be restored, we grant to you the land (specified) altogether six *khandugas* of rice-land formerly belonging to the *achukattu* (or irrigated area) of the tank, free of all imposts. Whatever extent of fresh

[1] *E.C.* X, Kl. 207, p. 62.

irrigated area there may now be that also we grant to you free of all imposts. But on obtaining a crop from it, certain quantities (specified) to be given for the shares of the palace and the *agrahara*; both together, 1 kha(nduga) according to dry field measurement."[1] From this it appears that the land in question was free from all imposts and that the State demanded only ⅙ of the total produce obtained from it.

Several other types of grants of land were also made and this is gleaned from a study of a few more records in the Carnatic. To the Brahmans, the Marathas gave agraharams with the permission to bequeath, mortgage or sell such a property. There is a record at Huttur which says: "Jayati Bayi amma—lawful wife of Sambhaji Raja, the son of Shivaji Raja of the Kausika Gotra and Bhosala ruler, made to Bhavuji Pant, son of Virupaksha Sankara, and grandson of Kapathali Govinda Pant of the Kasyapa Gotra, a grant of land as follows: the Uttur village in the Kolala-Sime belonging to the Kolar-Chavadi, have we granted as an agrahara, with permission to bequeath, mortgage or sell to be enjoyed to your prosperity, with all the usual rights.........."[2] Military service was also rewarded by grants of land,

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[1] *E.C.* X, Kl. 219, p. 63.

[2] *E.C.* X. Kl. 227, p. 65.

and an epigraph found at Annehalli in the Kolar taluk dated A.D. 1670 says : "By order of dowager (Matusri) Jayati Bayi amma—the the Sugutur Hobali Havaldar, Vithala Panditaraya and the Brahmans of the agrahara—granted a field as netara-kodige for Annenahalli Sankharaya to be enjoyed free of all imposts."[1]

Temples were also endowed with lands, and an inscription dated A. D. 1685 states : "The Maharajadhiraja Rajaparameswara Vira-Pratapa—worshipper of the lotus feet of the Master of the universe and of myriads of the world, the ancient Purushothama, the god Venkateswara —of the Bhosala-vamsa Sembhoji Raja's son Malukoji Raja, granted for the God Tiruvengadanatha, free of all imposts, the Aralambagiri village, belonging to Kaivara-sthala, in the Kolala-Sime, one of the seven *nads* attached to the Hosa......enchavadi during the government of Sivaji Raja Maharaja—which the illustrious Chetrapati Sivaji–Maharajadhiraja had granted to Malukoji Raja as a *mirasi*."[2]

To sum up the greatness of the Maratha achievement in the Carnatic Balaghat under Shahji's rule consists in the fact that instead of

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[1] Ibid, Kl. 224, p. 64.

[2] *E.C.* X, Ct. 54, p. 253.

introducing a new administrative system in the conquered area, and thereby causing inevitable confusion, the Maratha officials carried on the prevalent system handed down to them by the Vijayanagar kings, with the help of their own men which guaranteed a maximum of efficiency and a minimum of wastage. In this direction the example set by Shahji was of the highest value to his successors, for his principal endeavour was to win the affection of the people while exacting from them as much of revenue as they could possibly spare. In him we see personified the type of a ruler who considered the happiness of his people as the *sine qua non* of the prosperity of the state. As a conqueror, as an administrator and above all as a patriot, Shahji is indeed unique.

CHAPTER III

Vyankaji and the establishment of the Tanjore Principality. (A.D. 1675 to A.D. 1684)

On the death of Shahji in A.D. 1664, the Bijapur Sultan bestowed his *jaghir* on Vyankaji[1] (also called Ekoji), the first son of Shahji by his second wife, Tukabai Mohite. He was the favourite of his father and was exhorted by him to carry on the traditions of the family and imitate the example set by his great brother, the ever victorious Shivaji. In order to help him in the administration of the land, Ragunath Narayan and Janardhan Narayan were appointed as his advisers. Shahji spoke to Vyankaji thus: "Hearken to the advice of my chosen and trusty servants and thy path shall be thornless in this world."[2] From his accession to the ancestral jaghirship till his capture of Tanjore in A.D. 1675 we have no connected account of Vyankaji's doings except that he was a loyal and trusted servant of the Bijapur Sultan.

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[1] Sen: *Sivachhatrapati*, p. 110.

Dr. Fryer says that the bellicose activities of Shivaji dissatisfied Shahji with the result that he chose his younger son Vyankaji as his successor. Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[2] Takakhav and Keluskar: *Life of Shivaji Maharaj*, p. 52.

The circumstances that led to the establishment of the Tanjore Maratha principality were not striking for Shāhji had already paved the way for that event during the time when he was engaged in the politics of the Carnatic in the years 1659–1662. The mutual jealousy between the powers of the land and the traditional enmity between Madura and Tanjore in particular, had greatly assisted the attempts of the Bijapur generals in weakening them and planting the Bijapur banner everywhere. Ultimately an occasion arose for the active interference of Bijapur in the never-ceasing quarrel between Tanjore and Madura. Chokkanatha Nāyak's contemporary on the throne of Tanjore was Vijayaraghava, who was intensely devoted to religious austerities and "culpably negligent of his subjects' sufferings."[1] As we saw above, Vijayaraghava did not respond to the invitation of Chokkanatha for a defensive alliance against the Musulmans. This refusal brought about invasions of Tanjore by Madura in 1659 and then in 1664.[2] Of course Vijayaraghava was defeated on both occasions and Chokkanatha had the satisfaction of obtaining a tribute from Tanjore; but it did not in any way mitigate the innate hostility between the two kingdoms.

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[1] R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 157.

[2] *La Mission du Madure*: R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 275 and 277.

This mutual ill-feeling did not abate; and in 1673 it occasioned a brutal warfare which culminated in the complete destruction of the Tanjore Nāyak kingdom.

The facts regarding the quarrel between Chokkanatha and Vijayaraghava can be gleaned from the indigenous chronicles which all agree as to the course of the main events.[1] It appears that the Madura Nāyak requested his Tanjore brother to give one of his daughters in marriage to himself. Vijayaraghava dismissed curtly the envoys of Madura and refused to have any alliance with a dynasty which had been the declared enemy of his family. Thereupon the enraged Chokkanatha despatched his Dalavai, Venkatakrishnappa on an expedition against Tanjore. After capturing the fort of Vallam, the Dalavai advanced towards Tanjore and encamped near it. From here he sent a message to Vijayaraghava to this effect:— "Notwithstanding all past occurrences, you are a great king and an illustrious personage. Moreover as you refused to bestow your daughter, all this discussion between your's and our's has occurred. But wherefore should it be continued? Consent to the marriage of your daughter with our king; and let a reconciliation

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[1] Taylor: *Oriental Historical Mss.*; II, pp. 185 and 191–9; *Catalogue Raisonnce*, III, p. 177; S. K. Iyengar: *Source Book of Vijayanagar History* p. 324 *et seq.*

take place. If so we will cause our army to retire." Vijayaraghava was not perturbed by these audacious words, and urging his troops to defend the fort, went to prayers. Within a short time the Madura Dalavai was able to storm the fort and then threatened the palace. Vijayaraghava after finishing his prayers, assembled his crown wives, little children and all the other members of the harem in a place of refuge and surrounding them with earthen vessels filled with gun powder, said: "At whatever time one may send word, at that time you will apply fire to those vessels charged with gun powder and attain the possession of Vaicontha." Having given these orders, the king came out of the palace, assisted by the great chiefs of the kingdom, to give battle to the heartless enemy. Vijayaraghava got himself reconciled to his long-imprisoned son, Mannarudas, and both of them decided to make a desperate stand against the enemy, and die, if necessary in the struggle. Indeed the heroic Mannarudas and the old Vijayaraghava fought bravely and fell on the battlefield,[1] while the zenana apartments in the

[1] "The appearance of Achuta Vijayaraghava Nayakar at this time was that of a youthful well looking person, though more than eighty years of age; his extremely over-hanging eye-brows had gold wires attached to them to keep them up; his shrivelled waist was wrapped round with valuable robes; and his dress studded with very many gems; he held in both his

palace were blown to pieces according to the plan previously made. "Just before this tragic event, one of the queens of Vijayaraghava gave her young son who was four years old to a nurse with all her jewellery which was worth a very large sum and allowing her to escape commissioned her to build up the child."[1] After the defeat and destruction of the Tanjore army, Dalavai Venkatakrishnappa placed a new garrison in the Tanjore fort and returned to Madura carrying the heads of Vijayaraghava and Mannarudas. Chokkanatha Nāyak was much pleased. Thus when the whole kingdom of Vijayaraghava fell into Chokkanatha's hands, he appointed his foster-brother, Alagiri as its viceroy (1674). For sometime Alagiri continued to acknowledge the overlordship of Chokkanatha and sent in due obedience the surplus revenue to Madura; but as he tasted the fruits of power with the progress of years and marvelled at the wealth of the Tanjore kingdom, the idea of independence slowly germinated in his mind and persuaded him to rebellion. He took among his officers one Venkanna, a Niyogi Brahmin as his *rayasam* (secretary) and it is mentioned

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hands two very long highly furnished and glittering swords; and thus presenting himself before his enemies arrayed himself to commence war."

Taylor: *Oriental Historical Mss.* Vol. III, p. 195.

[1] S. K. Iyengar: *Source Book of Vijayanagar History*, p. 325.

in the chronicle that it was due to his evil counsel that Alagiri assumed a defiant attitude towards his suzerain. Chokkanatha was exasperated over this but did not proceed against his impudent milk-brother. Meanwhile it became known that the old Nāyak family of Vijayaraghava was not totally extinct and that a boy of that family who was saved from the immolation of 1673 was being brought up by a merchant at Negapatam.[1] Venkanna who was discontented with his position and influence in the new regime wanted to bring about the downfall of Alagiri by reviving the old dynasty and raising the surviving child to the Nāyakship; he therefore hastened to Negapatam.[2] With Chengamaladas, Venkanna made

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[1] The *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitam* says that Chengamaladas at the time of his rescue was a boy of four years old and he is mentioned as the younger son of Vijayaraghava. It adds that he was brought up by a wealthy merchant. S. K. Iyengar: *op. cit.*, p. 325. Another chronicle (Taylor's *Mss.* II, p. 200) says that he was a petty merchant and that Chengamaladas was a child aged only two years at the time of his rescue and that he was the son of Mannarudas. Mr. Satyanatha Iyer thinks that Chengamaladas must be a son of Mannarudas and not of Vijayaraghava, as the latter is described as an old man, aged eighty at the time of his death. *Nāyaks of Madura*, p. 167, note 38. Mr. K. Sitaramayya in his *Tanjore Nayaks* (pp. 338–340) is also of the same opinion. He says that Chengamaladas was a grandson of Vijayaraghava and adds that he must be at least twenty-five years of age since both Mannarudas and Chengamaladas are mentioned in the *Ushaparinayam*.

[2] Taylor's *Mss.* say that Venkanna stayed at Negapatam till the boy was 10 or 12 years of age *i.e.*,

his way to the Bijapur court and there persuaded the Sultan to assist him in vindicating the claims of his protege to the Tanjore throne.[1] The Sultan who was led to believe that Chengamaladas was in fact the legitimate heir to the Tanjore throne, sent an army under his general Ekoji,† son of Shahji, with 12,000 cavalry to enable Venkanna to drive out the usurper Alagiri. After capturing the fort of Arni on his way, Ekoji marched on Tanjore.

Alagiri was keenly alive to the danger which threatened him and employed all means to arrest the progress of Ekoji. His courage stood by his side, and "Idal Khan's general (Ekoji) had to wait for one full year (1674–75) on the frontiers of the kingdom"[2] to get an opportunity to enter Tanjore. Chokkanatha,

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for about 8 years. But this is wrong because the Jesuit letters speak about his fall in A.D. 1675. The *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitam* does not mention his stay at Negapatam. And Mr. Satyanatha Iyer remarks (p. 167): "Venkanna was too much of a politician not to realize that a moment's delay would be dangerous to the success of his plans."

[1] According to Nelson, "Chengamala Nāyakan or Das escaped from the palace during the confusion which ensued upon its destruction and fled for refuge to the court of Idal Khan, who received him kindly, and promised to assist him." *The Madura Manual*, p. 194.

† In the following pages the name Ekoji is often used for Vyankaji.

[2] *La Mission du Madure III*, R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 279.

remembering Alagiri's disloyalty, refused to help him in his hour of trial and was deaf to all his ardent appeals for succour. The chronicles say that Ekoji marched against Tanjore, captured the fort of Ayyampet, defeated the forces of Alagiri near it and drove him to seek shelter in the fort of Tanjore.[1] Thus at last Shahji's dream of getting possession of Tanjore for the Marathas was realised by his son Ekoji.*

Foiled in his attempt at independence, and fearing possible treachery among his own followers, Alagiri gave up the fort and left for Mysore by way of Ariyalur. Ekoji took possession of the fort and kingdom of Tanjore; after conquering the surrounding parts he marched against Trichinopoly where Chokkanatha lived. Although the Madura Nayak was able to defend himself and stay in his capital, still Ekoji contrived to deprive him "of a large part of his dominions and of all the strong places in his

[1] S. K. Iyengar: *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 326.

* That Ekoji was anxious to annex the Carnatic even as early as 1672 is seen from a record dated 16th December, 1672 which says: "Another cloud begins to gather towards the mountains where the *old Gentue King of Cornatta* (Sriranga III) whose harsh carriage to his great ones was the loss of this country, being newly dead a brother's son succeeds in his rights; a descent has long been waited for by Shivaji's brother" (Ekoji). *English Records on Shivaji 1659–1682*, p. 232. This letter tells that the death of Sriranga III had taken place in A.D. 1672.

provinces."[1] Rayasam Venkanna was filled with joy at the success which attended his *coup d'état*; and he, along with Ekoji, had Chengamaladas crowned at Tanjore[2] as the lawful Nayak. The indigenous chronicles speak of the lavish presents given to Ekoji and it is also said that he received the districts of Kumbakonam, Mannarkoil and Papanasam to cover the expenses of his expedition. After this Ekoji returned to Kumbakonam for a short stay.

As one who should be grateful to his saviour who had protected him in his youth, Chengamaladas appointed the rich merchant of Negapatam as his minister and commander-in-chief. The jealous Venkanna thereupon became disappointed and dissatisfied and thought as follows:—"Though I had conducted Chengamaladas to Vijayanagaram, and with so much negotiation and unmeasurable pains procured him an interview with the Secandra-Padshah, bringing thence an army, conquering the

[1] *La Mission du Madure, III*, p. 248.

[2] Nelson basing his conclusion on a Jesuit letter says: "Ekoji omitted to carry out Idal Khan's orders with regard to the reinstatement of Chengamala Nayakkan" (*Madura Manual*, p. 196). This is a wrong conclusion because Ekoji did crown Chengamaladas. S. K. Aiyangar: *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 326. "Thereupon Ekoji Raja captured the fort of Tanjore, and reinstated Sengamala dasu in the possession of the kingdom." Taylor: *Oriental Historical Mss.* Vol. II, p. 201.

enemies and causing him to be crowned, yet notwithstanding all this, not to give me the post of *Dalakartan*, but to bestow it, by the advice of a nurse, on a street shop-keeper! And did he not also bid me obey and act according to that person's orders?"[1] In order to punish Chengamaladas for overlooking his claims, Venkanna fled to Kumbakonam where he persuaded Ekoji to proceed against Tanjore and ascend the throne himself. At first Ekoji hesitated to follow up this plan, for he feared the possible anger of his master, the Bijapur Sultan, at such a bold and treacherous piece of action. But when he heard that there had occurred a change in the Sultanate, and that there was no longer the old Sultan to fear, he became bold and marched against Tanjore and easily conquered it from Chengamaladas.[2] Although Venkanna

[1] Taylor: *Oriental Historical Mss.* Vol. II, p. 202.

[2] R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 170. This view is disputed by Mr. K. Sitaramayya who, in his *Tanjore Nayaks*, says that Ekoji and Venkanna conspired together against Chengamaladas and adds that the former's stay at Kumbakonam was only intended to mature his ambitious plan to conquer and annex Tanjore. He is also of the opinion that the statement in the chronicle that Ekoji feared his master is not trustworthy, because there is no evidence to support the death of a Sultan of Bijapur in 1675. Adil Shah died in 1673 and was succeeded by Sikandar Shah who ruled from 1673 to 1683. Ekoji himself might have been sent by Sikandar Shah. There is nothing to connect the death of the Sultan and the determination of Ekoji to march against Tanjore which was executed according to premeditated plan.

was allowed to restore order in the kingdom, Ekoji could not trust him since he had betrayed his previous masters. Venkanna also realised the suspicious nature of Ekoji, and fearing imprisonment made his exit from Tanjore.[1] Thus Ekoji was free to assume the reins of government of the Tanjore kingdom.[2]

Vyankaji ascended the Tanjore throne early in 1676[3] (varying dates between 1674 and 1676 are assigned to his accession). According to Orme :–" In the year 1680, the king of Tanjore, attacked and well nigh over-powered by the king of Trichinopoly, called the Morattoes to his assistance. The famous Seevaji, who at that time reigned over all the Morattoe nations, sent his brother with a strong army........Under pretence therefore of collecting this money, they took possession of the government, and shortly after, the brother of Seevaji declared

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[1] S. K. Aiyangar : *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, p. 327.

[2] " Ekoji first took possession of Tanjore on the 7th day of February 1675." Fullarton : *A View of English Interests in India*, p. 317.

Sambamurthy Rao in his book, *Inscriptions of the Marathas*, gives the same date : Magha of Saka 1596 equal to February-March 1675.

Nelson says : " Ekoji marched upon Tanjore in the early part of 1675 and established his authority." *The Madura Manual*, pp. 174–175.

[3] The Tanjore Temple Inscription dates the accession as Saka 1597, Anala, Chaitra.

himself king of Tanjore."[1] This version of Orme cannot be entirely authentic and does not agree with the accounts given in the *Tanjavuri Andhra Rajula Charitam* and in the *Mackenzie Manuscripts.* Ekoji was not the conqueror of Tanjore through Shivaji's endeavours; far from it, he was the general of the Bijapur Sultan who sent him at the request of Rayasam Venkanna on a definite expedition to reinstate the fugitive Chengamaladas on the Tanjore throne. This was probably towards the end of 1674, and the consequent confusion created an atmosphere favourable for Ekoji's march on Tanjore and the usurpation of the throne by him. According to Father Andre Freire's letter of 1676, Vyankaji's conquest of Tanjore is said to have taken place very recently. "This is what has just happened at Tanjore. General Ekoji instead of placing the son of the late Nayak on the throne, according to the orders of Idal Khan, has preferred to usurp the title and authority of an independent king." Of course Freire is wrong when he says that Ekoji failed to carry out Idal Khan's orders; but the fact remains that he ascended the throne early in 1676.

Vyankaji's new conquest is mentioned in a Fort St. George letter, dated 13th May 1676

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[1] Orme: *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, p. 297.

written to Bombay in which the Madras Governor, Sir William Langhorne observes: "We have no certainty of Shivaji as yet, but it is reported as if his brother Ekoji, hitherto in the Bijapuris service on the southern frontier, having surprised a mountain and woody country hitherto unsubjected, has set up for himself."[1] There is a grant of Vyankaji in 1676, which states that he confirmed the gift of Negapatam already made to the Dutch merchants by Vijayaraghava Nayak.[2] Vyankaji's name is frequently referred to in the East India Company's records, and even long after his death his name continued to be mentioned, as is evident from a letter of 1700 which says that Vyankaji (naturally meaning his successor) was at war with Mangammal.[3]

In another letter of 1681 it is stated that "Ekoji was Nayak of Tanjore"[4]; while that of 1682 records the grant to Ekoji of Vallam by Mysore which captured Madura.[5] Tanjore is referred to as 'Ekoji's country' in a letter of

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[1] *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. II, p. 88.

[2] 893-H of Mr. Rangachari's *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. II, Tanjore.

[3] *Letters to Fort St. George* 1699–1700, VII, 31st July 1700.

[4] Ibid 1681–82, I, p. 40.

[5] Ibid 1682, 8th March 1681.

1685[1]. In 1687 the Company wanted to have a settlement at Tirumalavasal after making peace with Ekoji.[2] The French negotiated with Ekoji's son about a fort near Negapatam in 1688,[3] while the English also contemplated *pourparler* with Ekoji,[4] whose name is mentioned four times as the ruler of Tanjore.[5] Of course Ekoji was not alive now, and evidently the Factory Records confused Shahji with Ekoji. The latter's proposals to the English are mentioned in a letter of 1690,[6] and his help to Raja Ram at Gingee is also recorded.[7] Vyankaji had to make peace with the Dutch consequent on the aggression of Zulfikar Khan on the Tanjore kingdom;[8] and in 1694 a treaty was concluded between them.[9] This treaty is evidently with Shahji and not with Vyankaji.[10]

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1 *Letters to Fort St. George* 1684-5, 6th August 1685 and *Diary and Consultation Book* 1685, p. 112.

2 *Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book* 1687, p. 138.

3 Ibid, 1688, 7th May, p. 77.

4 Ibid, 1688, 17th May.

5 Ibid, 1688, 4, 19 and 25 June and 1692, 14th August.

6 Ibid, 1690.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid, 1691, 26th August.

9 Ibid, 1694, p. 68.

10 Manucci: *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. III.

The most arresting event of Vyankaji's reign was the expedition of Shivaji into the Carnatic which paralysed the activities of the rulers of the South and of the European settlements on the coast. Historians are at variance with regard to two questions: first, as to the motive which impelled Shivaji to undertake this expedition, and secondly, as to the person who was responsible for it. Some are of opinion that the main object of Shivaji was to plunder the rich provinces of the south. Others consider that the expedition was intended to punish Vyankaji and bring him to a sense of duty, as well as to obtain a share in the ancestral *jaghirs* left by Shahji. A few think that it was a grand attempt at the unification of the Hindu powers of the Deccan and of South India in order to create a *Hindu Pad Padashahi*. But a study of the relevant sources reveal, beyond doubt, that the idea of conquest and of extension of dominion was the supreme motive of Shivaji in this great endeavour. They also prove that neither Raghunath Hanumante nor Madanna Pant, the minister of the Kutb Shah, was the author of the scheme. Of course they contributed very much towards the success of the enterprise; but the initiator of these plans as of every other activity connected with his life was Shivaji himself. He was the sole architect of his fortunes.

Shivaji in the Carnatic 1676-77.

The political condition of the Carnatic then bordered on anarchy, and the prevailing internecine warfare constituted its worst feature. With the accession of Chikkadeva Raya (1672-1704) Mysore began an openly aggressive policy, and extended her dominion at the expense of the Madura kingdom whose ruler, Chokkanatha was preparing himself for an attack on Ekoji. The Bijapur Sultan was also mobilizing his army to punish Ekoji for his audacious usurpation[1] in direct contravention of his instructions. But the Bijapur government was not very strong, for, on the death of Ali Adil Shah in 1672, Khawas Khan, the leader of the Deccani faction, became the regent for the boy king Sikander. The intense rivalry among the nobles for power finally culminated in the fall of Khawas Khan and the rise of his rival Bahlol Khan, head of the Foreign Party, in 1675, and "an open civil war broke out in the heart of the kingdom, while the Provincial governors ceased to recognise any superior and began to extend their own way."[2] When thus the central authority at Bijapur became weak, its distant governors, Nasir Muhammad Khan of Gingee, a partisan of the Deccani faction, and Sher Khan Lodi of Wali-

[1] *La Mission du Madure* III: R. Satyanatha Iyer: The *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 280-81.

[2] Jadunath Sarkar: *Shivaji*, p. 283.

kanda-puram, began to quarrel with one another. Sher Khan's objective was to annex Gingee and he sought the assistance of the French for this purpose. Within a short time he was able to get the better of Nasir Muhammad and acquired a large portion of his territories. While he was thus placed in this rather critical situation, the Golkonda Sultan, in order to profit by the confusion in the south, invited Nasir Muhammad to join him in his attempt at conquering the Bijapuri Karnatak. Madanna Pant, the all-powerful minister of Golkonda, was only waiting for an opportunity for building up a pan-Hindu coalition in the south and the offer of Raghunath Hanumante was accepted gladly.

Vyankaji and Raghunath Hanumanthe

Shahji had appointed Raghunath Hanumante as the guardian of his son Vyankaji. But with the lapse of time, Vyankaji began to neglect his guardian's advice and openly displayed his aversion for him. Raghunath was no ordinary man; he was gifted with a sense of loyalty and duty and wanted to maintain the integrity of Shahji's dominions at all cost. He counselled Vyankaji to keep away from the

[1] According to Martin: "Madanna proposed to the king the conquest of the State of Gingee which would consequently involve the countries of Tanjore, Madura and thereby render him the master of the whole of Carnatic." To achieve this Shivaji was persuaded to undertake an expedition.

company of vulgar men and continue the noble tradition of his father. But his words fell on deaf ears, and Vyankaji was determined to indulge in his own course. In a fit of anger Raghunath left Tanjore and traced his steps to Shivaji's court. He had watched the activities of Shivaji towards the consummation of a Maratha empire. He wanted to make the already planned invasion of Shivaji of the south smooth, and for that purpose he went first to the Golkonda court. His great learning and powers of expression charmed the leading ministers of the Kutb Shahi government, Akkanna and Madanna, whom he persuaded to help Shivaji in his South Indian expedition.[1]

The *Bakhars*, *Chitnis*[2] and *Shiva Digvijaya*[3] assert that the object of Shivaji's expedition was to obtain from Vyankaji a part of Shahji's *jaghirs* in the Carnatic. According to the *Sabhasad*, Shivaji merely demanded his father's twelve badges of honour.[4] It was not partition which was the main objective of Shivaji. The Tanjore kingdom was acquired by Vyan-

The object of the expedition.

[1] Sen: *Sivachhatrapati*, p. 225.
[2] Ibid, p. 228.
[3] Ibid, p. 230.
[4] Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 127.

kaji by dint of personal valour; and his previous loyalty to the Bijapur Sultan had got him a confirmation of Shahji's *jaghirs* originally bestowed on him.[1] Shivaji had no claim to dispute the ownership of Vyankaji, and if such a right was allowed to Shivaji, Vyankaji had also the equally valid right of demanding from his elder brother a part of the Poona *jaghir*, which had belonged to Shahji before he migrated to the Carnatic and to the charge of which Shivaji was sent with his guardian Dadaji Konddev only in 1636.[2] In short, Shivaji's object seems to have been not a demand (of a part) of the ancestral *jaghir* in the south for he had no right to demand it. His palpable objective was conquest and annexation.[3]

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[1] Sen: *Sivachhatrapati*, p. 110.

[2] Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 44.
Jadunath Sarkar: *Shivaji*, p. 23.

[3] In this connection, the South Indian Annalist Narayana Kone, who has written the *Karnataka Rajakkal Savistara Charitam*, is of the opinion that Shivaji undertook the Carnatic expedition in order to bring his brother Vyankaji to a sense of duty and also to consolidate the Hindu nation. Narayana Kone writes thus: "Fired by ambition, Vyankaji, unjustly took possession eventually of the Nayak kingdom of Tanjore by force of arms. To pacify the country and to induce the Hindu population to admit his authority, he generously distributed all the wealth amassed in the state treasury by the previous ruler Vijayaraghava Naiker; but far from succeeding this only served to intensify the jealousies and bickerings of chiefs and he

Sir Jadunath Sarkar following the English factors is of opinion that the expedition was intended to squeeze the Carnatic of its accumulated wealth, and adds that it was carried out with a rapidity and thoroughness which obtained for

had to fight them incessantly and raise armies, which was not possible without enormous expenditure.

"Then famine having taken its toll, it was not possible for him to levy heavier imposts on the inhabitants. Having deliberated, he determined to confiscate the wealth of the temples which drew on him the hatred of Hanumante. The latter therefore took leave of his master on the pretext of making in his old age the sacred pilgrimage to Benares. Really he went to see king Shivaji in order to inform him of the rapine and pillage indulged in by his brother.

"It is not therefore surprising that on the pious mind of Shivaji the account of his father's trusted minister made a painful impression, and that he thereupon resolved to take steps to bring his brother back to a more scrupulous observance of his duties. But knowing the obstinacy and sullen temper of his brother, Shivaji immediately perceived that his endeavours would prove to be futile in a great measure. Besides he had sent emissaries to his brother to claim his share of the possessions and acquisitions of his father.

"For fifteen years from the death of Shahji, Shivaji had left his younger brother to enjoy without any hindrance the revenues of Shahji's *jaghir* of Bangalore and other districts. If he reclaimed so tardily his share, it was not because he had an idea of enriching himself but only to bring his brother back to a juster appreciation of the realities of the situation and of the Dharma that ought to be realized by any right-minded ruler. The best proof of his sincerity was that he had proposed to his brother to submit their differences to arbitration and he himself nominated three arbitrators for the purpose." (C. S. Srinivasachari: The Maratha Occupation of Gingee and Its Significance.—*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*: Lahore, 1940, p. 298.)

Shivaji so vast a booty as to stagger the imagination of the Maratha chroniclers.[1] He says: 'It is incredible that a born strategist like. Shivaji could have really intended to annex permanently a territory on the Madras coast, which was separated from his dominions by two powerful and potentially hostile states like Bijapur and Golkonda and more than 700 miles distant from his capital. His aim, I believe, was merely to squeeze the country of its accumulated wealth and return home with booty. The partition of his father's heritage was only a plea adopted to give a show of legality to this *campaign of plunder*."[2]

Sir J. N. Sarkar seems to be self-contradictory, for at the time when Shivaji undertook his Carnatic expedition he was not faced with "two powerful and potentially hostile states." He himself admits that the weakening of the central government at Bijapur had resulted in a general loss of efficiency throughout the empire, and the rival factions fought tooth and nail for the assertion of their supremacy.[3] As

[1] "With a success as happy as of Cæsars in Spain he came, saw and overcame, and reported so vast a treasure in gold, diamonds, rubies, and wrought coral that have strengthened his arms with very able sinewes to prosecute his further victorious designs." *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. II, p. 150.

[2] Jadunath Sarkar: *Shivaji* p. 366-67 (first edition.)

[3] Ibid (edition III), p. 283.

for Golkonda, Madanna had been prevailed upon by Raghunath Pant and the interview between Shivaji and the Kutb Shah resulted in an *entente cordiale.*[1] Thus the time was most opportune for Shivaji to undertake his expedition. Moreover Shivaji's object was to create a *Hindu Pad Padashahi.*[2] This would have been an impractical ideal if Shivaji had confined his activities to Poona and the surrounding places. Empires have grown by conquest and consolidation and not by *plunder* alone. Shivaji took the greatest possible care to see that his lines of communication with his base of operations in Maharashtra were kept up, and he consolidated his hold on places he conquered as he progressed on the invasion. It is known to us that Shivaji indeed formed his southern conquests into a kingdom and placed it under Santaji assisted by Raghunath Hanumante. In spite of all these admissions Sarkar holds that "gold and not land was his chief object."[3] This is because he is perhaps impressed too much by the evidence of the English Factory letters and the account of Martin. From the *Sabhasad* we learn that during the expedition Shivaji took the greatest possible care to see that his soldiers refrained

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[1] Sen : *Foreign Biographies,* pp. 263–264.

[2] Sardesai : *The Main Currents of Maratha History,* pp. 72–73.

[3] Sarkar : *Shivaji,* p. 309.

from plundering the inhabitants of the land and in any way causing damage to them. "A strict warning was issued after (he) had entered the Bhāgānagar territory. The Raja ordered that the *rayats* should not be given the least trouble. He intimidated (intending offenders) by beheading some (miscreants) and (when he) arrived at the halting places he procured everything by peaceful purchase there (and then) went forward. *There was no plunder.*"[1] What other proof is required to set aside the conclusions of the Factory Letters and Martin's *Memoirs.*

It must be remembered that the accounts of the foreign trade settlements in India are apt to be coloured by prejudices and preconceived notions. Their object was to get a flourishing business, and everyone who hindered it was the target of their abusive epithets. In fact according to Mr. B. G. Paranjpye, the English Records have only a corroborative value, and "the factors have neither been very inquisitive nor very precise in their statements."[2] For example the English Factory Letters sometime praise Shivaji and at other times slander him. A brief notice of the epithets given to Shivaji will convince us how far considerations of trade influenced their opinion of him. In a letter of

[1] Sen : *Sivachhatrapati*, p. 121.

[2] *English Records on Shivaji*, Introduction, pp. 37–38.

1660 he is referred to as "*a great and able person*";[1] in another of 1663 as "*a perfidious rebel*";[2] in yet another of 1663 as "*a great robber, the rogue*";[3] in still another of 1670 as "*a general enemy to trade*";[4] that of 1673 refers him as "*the grand and sole author of all these commotions*";[5] that of 1675 speaks of him as "*our fairest friend and noblest enemy*";[6] while that of 1678 hails him as "*that great disturber of the felicity of Deccan.*"[7] Hence we have to take in these statements with a grain of salt. That Shivaji's idea of permanent conquest was no after-thought is so apparent, while his diplomatic arrangements on the eve of his conquest and his grand army of veterans show that he contemplated no *mulkgiri*,[8] and convince us that he remained throughout his life a brilliant, though an audacious, strategist.

According to *Sabhasad*: "The Raja entertained in his heart the desire of conquering the Karnatak from the Tungabhadra valley to the

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[1] *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. I, p. 8.

[2] Ibid, p. 58.

[3] Ibid, p. 60.

[4] Ibid, p. 184.

[5] Ibid, p. 274.

[6] Ibid, Vol. II, p. 71.

[7] Ibid, p. 166.

[8] R. Satyanatha Iyer: Vindication of Vyankaji—*Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1938, p. 597.

Kaveri."[1] Shivaji did not stop with merely conquering these territories for he made arrangements to consolidate them. Martin speaks about Shivaji's endeavour to control Pondicherry and observes: "Shivaji assured our envoy that we might stay in complete security at Pondicherry, without taking the side of either party; that if we offered the least insult to his people there would be no quarter for us or for those of our people, who were in the factory of Rajapur, that he would send an avaldar in a few days to govern Pondicherry and that we might have to live with him in the same manner as we had done with the officers of Sher Khan."[2] Even as early as July 1677, soon after the conquest of Bhuvanagiri, Shivaji employed a large number of officials to look after his conquests. He "sent some Bramens to all the villages in the country for governing them, the number of these scamp who had followed Shivaji for trying to get some employment is something amazing, they counted more than twenty thousand."[3] These officers devoted their attention to the reclamation of waste lands and the rearing up of good crops. "The Bramens were more careful in making the lands profitable than those under the govern-

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[1] Sen: *Sivachhatrapati*, p. 119.

[2] Sen: *Foreign Biographies*, p. 278.

[3] Ibid, p. 297.

ment of the Muhammadans had appeared (to us) to be. A number of places around Pondicherry covered with brambles and brushwood only, of which nobody thought (anything) was reclaimed and these produced well since, but the best part of these improvements went to the profit of the Bramens." [1]

The consolidating policy of Shivaji is further outlined in his letter to Langhorne which requests the Madras Governor to send him some engineers to assist him in the construction of forts. "Since my arrival in the Carnatic country I have conquered several Forts and Castles, and also intend to build new works in several forts and castles. You may likely have with you such men as know to make mines and blow up stone walls......if there be any much men with you... You would be pleased to send some 20 or 25 or at least 10 or 15 such men." [2] Andre Freire's letter of 1678 from Viranam in the province of Gingee, bears ample testimony to the policy of annexation followed by Shivaji. "Shivaji made himself master of it, (Vellore) and thereby became sovereign of a large part of the kingdom (of Vijayanagar), as he was already (master) of Gingee. He could not hope to maintain peaceful possession of it for long; he had to defend

[1] Ibid, p. 341.

[2] *Diary and Consultation Book*, Fort St. George, 1672-78.

himself against the Moghul power which has been irresistable till now. With this prevision, he applied all the energy of his mind, and all the resources of his dominions, to the fortification of the principal towns. He constructed new ramparts around Gingee, dug ditches, erected towers, created basins and executed all these works with a perfection which European art would not have denied.[1] He did as much for the other citadels, whose position promised real advantages, destroyed all those which he considered useless, constructed a large number of new ones in the plains and hills, and put all these fortresses in a state of preparedness for a siege of several years." [2] Above all, the non-fulfilment of Shivaji's promise to Abul Hassan[3] gives colour to Shivaji's aim in the conquest of the Carnatic.

Thus when there is not an iota of evidence to disprove Shivaji's idea of permanent conquest in the south, his other objects seem to have been only secondary to it. Ranade's contention that the expedition was undertaken "as if he had

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[1] "Sivaji after having examined the site of Gingee which offered great protection gave orders to cut off a part and to erect new fortifications." *Diary and Consultation Book*, 1678.

[2] *La Mission du Madure III*, R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 283–84.

[3] Sen: *Foreign Biographies*, p. 275.

prescience of coming events," and that he "by his conquests and alliances, formed a new line of defence in Southern India in the Kaveri valley, to which he could retire in case of necessity,"[1] does not offer a reasonable explanation. Dr. Sen also subscribes to Ranade's view. "He wisely annexed this far-off colony, as he had probably foreseen that it might one day serve as a secure place of refuge for his successors. A shrewd and wise statesman like Shivaji would not otherwise run the great risks involved in the invasion of the Karnatak while a strong Mughal army was posted in the Deccan."[2] This idea seems to be but slenderly supported, for Shivaji's position at this time was strong enough in his own native land to defy any threat by the Mughals. Dr. S. K. Iyengar, on the strength of Shiva's silver-plate grant to the widow and two sons of Śrīraṅga III (recording the donation of "probably a hundred villages"[3]) and on his issue of coins in imitation of the Vijayanagar *pagoda*, credits him with "the ambition to stand before Aurangzib as the acknowledged successor of the emperors of Vijayanagar,"[4] and observes that "his southern expedition had in it an idea of reviving the

[1] Ranade: *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 174.
[2] Sen: *Studies in Indian History*, p. 145.
[3] *Vijayanagara Sexcentenary Commemoration Volume*, p. 137.
[4] R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, pp. 176-77 *n*.

Hindu empire of the south."[1] He concludes that Śrīraṅga III's death "had something to do with the coronation of Shivaji." All this evidence only shows Shivaji's generosity to the family of the great emperor of Vijayanagar which had come to grief and nothing more. To conclude: the attempt to discover Shiva's ulterior motive is a wild goose chase. His demand for the partition was only a stalking-horse. To him plunder was only a side issue. His palpable objective was the conquest and administration of the Karnatak in order to strengthen his own military and political position.[2]

Historians like Grant Duff, Sardesai, Kincaid and Sarkar are of the opinion that Raghunath Narayan Hanumante was the man who planned the expedition. It seems that on his quarrel with Vyankaji, in order to wreak vengeance on his master, Raghunath went to Golkonda, concluded a treaty there through the help of the all-powerful minister of that kingdom, Madanna, which paved the way for Shivaji's exploits, and later on went to Panhala where he goaded Shivaji to undertake the expedition. But *Sabhasad* tells us that Raghunath and his brother Janardhan, unable to control

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[1] Ibid. p. 134 *n*.

[2] R. Satyanatha Iyer: Vindication of Vyankaji Bhonsle: *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress.*, 1938, p. 598.

the youthful impetuosity of Vyankaji, migrated to their native land where Shivaji welcomed them.[1] According to *Chitnis*, on his quarrel with Vyankaji Raghunath went to Golkonda where his versatility astonished Madanna who was prevailed upon to arrange an understanding between his Sultan and Shivaji.[2]

The view that Raghunath Narayan was the prime mover in the whole business is not supported by *Sabhasad*. No doubt Raghunath co-operated with Shivaji in his expedition and after his conquest of Gingee was made its viceroy.[3] There is also no questioning his administrative ability or statecraft. But his aim seems to have been the limited one of teaching Vyankaji a lesson, whereas Shivaji's was a grand attempt at territorial integration. Moreover, even before Raghunath could have offered his advice, Shivaji had planned the invasion. It is said that Raghunath met Shivaji during his illness at Satara. This was early in 1676. But from a Factory letter dated 14th June 1675, we understand that Shivaji had contemplated to go "next summer against Carnatic."[4] There is also another French letter from Surat dated 20th December 1675 which says that Shivaji's

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[1] Sen: *Sivachhatrapati*, pp. 110–111.

[2] Ibid, pp. 221–226.

[3] Ibid, p. 127.

[4] *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. II, p. 55.

minister Annaji Pant told Baron near Rajapur, that the invasion of the Carnatic had been thought out by his master. Hence Dr. Sen concludes: "The matter must have been settled long ago in the innermost council of the Maratha hero before one of his principal ministers could discuss it with a foreign trader."[1]

According to Martin, the Brahmin Madanna was "the author of this expedition."[2] He invited Shivaji "to render some service to his religion,"[3] his object being "to put a part of Carnatic under Hindu domination and to make himself a powerful protector of Shivaji by virtue of the facilities that he gave him (Shivaji) to make himself master of it; and perhaps they had still more far-reaching designs."[4] The Fort St. George letter of 19th June 1677 says that Shivaji was "called in by the king of Golkonda or Madanna to help them to take Gingee, Vellore, and Penukonda, the remainder of the sea port of the Carnatic country as far as Porto Novo, out of the Bijapuris' hands, with title of Generalissimo, by which means he has gotten in a manner the possession of this country, the said king having no force to oppose him."[5] It

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[1] Sen: *Studies in Indian History*, p. 139.

[2] Sen: *Foreign Biographies*, p. 291.

[3] Ibid, p. 262.

[4] Ibid, p. 264.

[5] *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. II, p. 125.

should be understood that neither Martin nor Langhorne was in a position to know the truth, and long before the interview between Shivaji and Madanna actually took place, the former had thought of the Carnatic invasion in 1675.

It is therefore certain that Shivaji deserves full credit for the conception as well as the execution of the scheme, though in the details of its execution Raghunath Hanumante helped him substantially with his minute knowledge of Carnatic geography and history, and Madanna supported him in the beginning. There could be no manner of doubt about the leadership of Shivaji, in the genesis, the execution and success in the Carnatic expedition.

The course of the expedition

With 20,000 horse and 40,000 foot Shivaji started towards the end of A.D. 1676 on his Carnatic compaign.[1] He was followed by Raghunath Narayan and Janardhan Narayan to assist him with their knowledge about the topography of the Carnatic. The first step of Shivaji's plan was to get an interview with the

[1] *Factory Records*, Fort St. George, Vol. I, p. 7 dated May 9, 1677.

O. C., Vol. 38, No. 4814 dated 10th January 1677–8. The Madras Council estimates Shivaji's army as consisting of "16 to 20 thousand horse and several thousand of foot raised and raising amongst the woods."

O. C., Vol. 37, No. 4266 dated 19th June 1677. *Sabhasad* speaks of only " twenty-five thousand horsemen." Sen: *Sivachhatrapati*, p. 119.

Kutb Shah of Golkonda which was arranged by his agent Prahlad Niraji who assured the Sultan about the sincerity of Shivaji's intentions. At Hyderabad the Maratha Raja was given a welcome quite comparable to that which Imperial Rome accorded to her Cæsars. "The Badshah had adorned the whole city. Streets and lanes were all around coloured with a thin layer of *kunkum* powder and saffron. Festive poles and triumphal arches were erected and flags and standards hoisted in the city. *Krors* of citizens stood (by the roads) to have a look at the Rāje. The ladies welcomed him by waving innumerable lamps round him. Gold and silver flowers were showered upon the Rāje." [1] The mutual meetings resulted in a *rapprochement* by which the Golkonda Sultan promised to pay Shivaji 3,000 *hun* a day or four and half lakhs of rupees a month and send 5,000 men to co-operate in the conquest of the Carnatic, while Shivaji agreed to give his ally such parts of his conquests in the Carnatic as had not belonged to his father.[2] Leaving Hyderabad in March 1677, Shivaji marched southwards towards Shrisailam, where he worshipped Sri Bhavani.[3]

Leaving Shrisailam, Shivaji passed through Tirupati and Kalahasti and halted at Pedda-

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[1] Sen: *Sivachhatrapati*, p. 121.

[2] Jadunath Sarkar: *Shivaji*. p. 294.

[3] Sen: *Sivachhatrapati*, p. 124.

polam for some time. He had already sent an advanced detachment of 5,000 cavalry through Conjeevaram to Gingee.[1] The commanders of the fort, Rauf Khan and Nasir Muhammad Khan, sons of the Khan Khanan, the *Wazir* of Bijapur, were won over by diplomacy and Gingee was taken.[2] Andre Freire writing in 1678, says that Shivaji fell "like a thunderbolt on the citadel of Gingee which he took at the first assult. He owed this easy success to the divisions which prevailed and to the numerous communications which he had carefully conducted with the Muhammadans."[3] Shivaji knew that the mere surrender of the fort of Gingee was not enough to save it from the

Capture of Gingee and siege of Vellore

[1] *Factory Records*, Fort St. George, Vol. I, p. 7 dated 9th May 1677.

[2] Sen: *Sivachhatrapati*, p. 124.

Orme dates the capture in July 1677. *Historical Fragments*, p. 64.

Martin dates it as 31st July 1677.

Sen: *Foreign Biographies*, p. 272.

The *Jedhe Chronology* says that between 24th March and 21st April 1677, Shivaji captured Gingee and occupied the whole Karnatak.

Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[3] *La Mission du Madure III*, R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 282.

Bhimsen says that the Fort of Gingee was captured treacherously. Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p.168.

Manucci attributes the capture as due to Shivaji's valour and determination. *Ibid*, p. 182.

attacks of his enemy. To prevent this, "he constructed new ramparts around Gingee, dug ditches, erected towers, created basins, and executed all these works with a perfection which European art would not have denied."[1]

[1] *La Mission du Madure III:* R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 284. Also *Diary and Consultation Book* 1678. Sen: *Foreign Biographies*, p. 279.

After taking possession of Gingee Shivaji refused to put the Golkonda officers in charge of the fort; and only now the Golkonda Sultan realised how the secret understanding between his minister Madanna and Shivaji had shattered his hopes. "Madanna's meeting with Shivaji at Golkonda did not represent as it may appear, the commencement of his negotiations with the Maratha Chief, but their final consummation. We have Baron's conclusive evidence that Shivaji had entertained the project of invading the Carnatic as early as in 1675. Since that time continuous negotiation has been in progress between his emissary Raghunath Narayan and Madanna. Madanna had already fully made up his mind to subsidize Shivaji with Golkonda money, to enable him to conquer the Carnatic for himself. Only the pretext for letting Shivaji loose into the Carnatic was wanting, and the pretext had opportunely arrived in the request of Nazir Mohamed. When Shivaji finally set out on his mission as Golkonda's accredited agent, and with the sinews of war which Golkonda had supplied, nobody knew better than Madanna that Shivaji would never give Abul Hasan the territories he had promised to give...... The whole was a carefully planned conspiracy to hoodwink Abul Hasan into pulling the chestnuts out of the fire for the greater benefit of the Maratha chieftain...... We have reached the year 1677 which is, in several respects, the year of the fullest maturity of Madanna's diplomatic system. Everything that the system stood for—absolute rule at home, a Brahmin administration, a firm alliance with Shivaji as the chief plank of national defence—all these had, by the year 1677, become concrete accomplished facts giving expression to his aims and definitely influencing the history of the Deccan."

From Gingee Shivaji fell on Vellore which was strongly defended and controlled by Abdullah Khan, a clever commander. Shivaji was not able to take Vellore, and leaving the siege operations in the hands of Narahari Rudra marched southwards to meet Sher Khan Lodi. Vellore held for long[1] and capitulated only after 14 months.[2]

Defeat of Sher Khan Lodi (June, 1677).

The southern half of the Bijapur Karnataka plains was ruled by Sher Khan Lodi, a Pathan noble, with his seat of government at Waligandapuram.[3] He came to Tiruvadi (in the South Arcot District) with a large army to meet the Marathas, who drove it in confusion and a part of the troop entered the fort of Tiruvati. At night Sher Khan tried to escape to Tevanapatam, and when the Marathas came to know

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Adrian Duarte :—'An estimate of Madanna from the French Records' (*Journal of Indian History* Vol. XI, pp. 298–313).

About the policy of Madanna, Martin adds:

"Madanna's views were to place this part of the Carnatic once again under the domination of the Hindus and by facilitating its conquest for Shivaji, to make him a powerful protector."

[1] *English Records on Shivaji* Vol. II, p. 124. Sen: *Foreign Biographies*, p. 279.

[2] Fort St. George, *Diary and Consultations* 1678–79, p. 105. According to Andre Freire, Shivaji made himself master of Vellore after a year of investment: *La Mission du Madure* III: R. Satyanatha Iyer: *The Nayaks of Madura*, p. 283.

[3] Jadunath Sarkar: *Shivaji*, p. 301.

of this, they chased him and drove him into the wood of Akala Nayak.[1] Shivaji's men captured 500 horses, two elephants, twenty camels, several oxen, tents, and great drums. Sher Khan fled with a hundred horse to the town called Bonaguiry (Bhuvanagiri)[2] on the north bank of Vellar near Porto Novo. Leaving the siege of Tiruvadi in the hands of Babo Sahib, and stationing his army three miles south of Tevanapatam, Shivaji went to Bhuvanagiri to meet Sher Khan.[3] Meanwhile Shivaji's men captured Valdur, Tevanapatam and several other forts of Sher Khan. He gave up the struggle and made peace with Shivaji[4] (17th July 1677).

After his victory over Sher Khan, Shivaji camped for sometime with his army at Tirumalwadi on the bank of the river Coleroon (July 1677). Thither, an envoy from the Madura Nayak, Chokkanatha came, and Shivaji demanded from him a crore of rupees towards his expenses as the Nayak bore a sign of being worth 9 crores of rupees. To this the envoy answered that "part of his master's country

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[1] *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. II, p. 127.

[2] Martin says that on the 7th of July, Sher Khan entered the wretched fortress of Bonnegirpatnam. Sen: *Foreign Biographies*, p. 289,

[3] *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. II, p. 130.

[4] Sen: *Foreign Biographies*, pp. 294-5.

the Nague of Misur (Mysore) had taken, and part Yekagee, wherefore he was not able to give him anything at present, and that if he would restore him back the said country he will give him seven lakhs." Raghunath Pant was thereupon sent to Madura by Shivaji to settle the accounts, who persuaded the Madura Nayak to pay six lakhs, and 1½ lakhs were immediately paid, while Shivaji promised to retire with his army.[1]

Shivaji meets Vyankaji July 1677.

Vyankaji was invited to see Shivaji and the latter went as far as Tirupatora to receive his brother.[2] Vyankaji was asked to give ¾ of his *jaghirs*, and have ⅓ for himself.[3] He declined and Shivaji was naturally angered. Fearing his wrath Vyankaji, with five horsemen, took to his flight and with the help of a catamaron, crossed the Coleroon and reached the other side.[4] Thereupon Shivaji imprisoned

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[1] *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. II, pp. 130–132.

[2] Ibid, p. 132.

[3] Sen: *Foreign Biographies*, p. 303.

[4] Andre Freire says: "The traitor (Shivaji) seizes his brother, and puts him in chains to extort from him all the the treasures (he had) from the exploitation of the kingdom of Tanjore. Ekoji having managed to escape, crosses the river swimming and hides himself in the woods; Sabaji recompenses himself by taking possession of all the provinces north of the Coleroon." R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*. p. 282.

Jagannath Pant, Konher Pant, Shivaji Pant and Niloji Nayak, and directed Narayan Hanumante to take possession of the Tanjore kingdom. But the Raja understood the vagaries to which youth was exposed, and excusing Vyankaji, released his ministers and sent them with robes of honour. He conquered all the country belonging to Sher Khan and deprived Vyankaji of all his open territories on the side of Coleroon,[1] and only Vellore and Arni continued to defy Shivaji.[2] Santaji was appointed to govern these conquered parts[3] with Raghunath Narayan as minister to guide him and Hambir Rao, as commander-in-chief.[4]

Final conquests of Shivaji.

Foiled in his attempt to obtain a reconciliation with his brother, Shivaji left the Coleroon base for Waligandapuram, where he stayed for a short time. From thence he went to Tundumgurti and received the presents from the Dutch chief of Tevanapatam. He sent his army to Elavanasur to take that fort from Vyankaji, while he himself with Simaji Nayak went to

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[1] *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. II, p. 734.

The Jedhe Chronology tr. by Sir Jadunath Sarkar *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 22.

[2] *La Mission du Madure III*: R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 282.

[3] *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. II, p. 146.

[4] Sen: *Sivachhatrapati*, p. 127.

worship God Shiva in the great temple at Vriddhachalam.[1] He also advanced to Srirangam and worshipped in it. (August 1677).[2] On the 22nd of September 1677, Shivaji was in Vaniambadi, from which he wrote a letter to Langhorne as follows: "Since my arrival into Cornat country I have conquered several Forts and Castles, and do also intend to build new works in several forts and castles. You may likely have with you such men as know how to make great carriages for guns and how to contrive mines. We have need of such men at present, especially those that know how to make mines and blow up stone walls. I had such men with me, who came from towards Goa and Vingorla and are all kept employed in several of my Forts and Castles.........if there be any such men with you that know how to make mines, you would be pleased to send some 20 or 25 or at least 10 or 15 such men."[3] The English politely refused for they did not want to embroil themselves in internal conflicts. Shivaji plundered Porto Novo[4] soon

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[1] *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. II, p. 133. According to the *Jedhe Chronology*, when Vyankaji fled to Tanjore, "Shivaji seized his lands, Jagdeogad and the surrounding territory, and the whole province of Chidambar and Vradhachal and laid siege to Kolhar." Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 39.

[2] *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. II, p. 135.

[3] *Ibid* pp. 138–39.

[4] Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol, I, p. 357.

after, and advanced so far as to be within two days march from Madras on the 3rd of October.[1] Arni had surrendered to Shivaji by this time.[2]

Shivaji had spent more than ten months in the Carnatic, and his anxiety about his home government grew more especially when Aurangzib began to direct his full might for the subjugation of the south. He held a grand council of all his ministers, and resolved to return to Raigad.[3] Hence, in the month of November 1677 Shivaji left for his land with 4,000 cavalry leaving the rest of his forces to consolidate his new conquests, with the assurance of his return quickly.[4] While going north, Shivaji had to conquer one place after another which had become independent, due to Vyankaji's migration to Tanjore. He ascended the Ghats and reached the plateau. "The forts of Kolhar and Balapur were captured. The country was conquered. Some forts were built. Turbulent polegars

Shivaji's homeward journey.

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[1] *Diary and Consultation Book*, Fort St. George 1672-78, p. 123.

[2] Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. I, p. 204.

[3] Sen: *Foreign Biographies*, p. 312.

[4] *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. II, p. 146.

The Jedhe Chronology: Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 40.

were destroyed and reduced to dust."[1] After placing this province also under Raghunath Pant, he passed through Kopal, Lakshmesvar, Sampgan and captured the Fort of Belvadi. Shivaji reached Panhala in April 1678.[2]

Settlement with Vyankaji

Vyankaji was not able to reconcile himself with the assertion of supremacy by Shivaji, nor would he allow his territories to be ravaged by his brother's generals. He carried on secret negotiations with the rulers of Madura and Mysore and other petty chieftains, with the object of regaining his lost territories.[3] But the energetic generals of Shivaji were not prepared to allow this project to mature; and in November 1677, they announced their intention to cross the river Coleroon and enter the kingdom of Tanjore.[4] Vyankaji understood this, and gathering an army himself crossed the river and opposed Santaji, the Maratha leader left by Shivaji to govern his conquests. Santaji had with him 6,000 horse and 6,000 foot, while Vyankaji had 4,000 horse and 10,000 foot. In the battle which took place on the 26th November 1677,[5] the mi-

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[1] Sen : *Sivachhatrapati*, pp. 127–28.

[2] *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. II, p. 160.

[3] Ibid, p. 134.

[4] Sen : *Foreign Biographies*, p. 315

[5] *Ibid* p. 317.

litary genius of Vyankaji won for him the day, despite the cleverness and intrepidity of Santaji and other captains. But Santaji was not disheartened by this defeat, and collecting his men surprised Vyankaji and his soldiers at dead of night when they were sleeping, and in the tornado of violence which ensued, 1,000 horse were slaughtered, 3 chief commanders were executed, and the woodmen carried away 100 horses. The rest of the army fled across the river Coleroon for Tanjore.[1] The Madura Nayak refused to join either side, but when the battle began,

[1] *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. II, p. 146.

Andre Freire speaks about the defeat of Santaji at the hands of Vyankaji and shows how the impetuosity of Vyankaji was responsible for his discomfiture: "Santaji obliged to flee, keeps enough composure to place a big detachment in ambuscade; the victors carried away by the dash of success fall into the snare; overtaken in the rear by this detachment, they suddenly see the fugitives turn against them with irresistible impetuosity. After a bloody combat of several hours they are broken, and they leave the battle-field and the honour of victory to Santaji, whose losses are nevertheless, much more considerable than those of the conquered."

La Mission du Madure III: R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 283.

A different story is told by *Sabhasad*: A battle took place between Hambir Rao, the general and Vyankaji in which the latter was defeated and 4,000 of his horses were taken. Then Raghunath Pant and Hambir Rao marched into Tanjore. Sen: *Sivachhatrapati*, pp. 128–29.

The *Jedhe Chronology* puts Ahiri in the Karnatak as the place of battle and states: "3,000 horses and elephants of Ekoji were captured. He went and stayed at Tirupati." Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 40.

advanced with his troops against Ekoji. Instead of attacking Tanjore, he wasted time which enabled Ekoji to recover from his defeat at the hands of Santaji. Chokkanatha was not able to achieve anything and returned to Trichinopoly in disgrace.[1]

The fight between the troops of Shivaji and Vyankaji continued throughout December, and the whole country witnessed their mutual ravages and violence.[2] Raghunath Pant informed Shivaji about the activities of Vyankaji, his invasion, his defeat, and the persistence with which he was prolonging his pursuit of him. Shivaji was greatly vexed and wrote a long admonitary letter to his brother on the necessity for reconciliation and asked him to interview Raghunath Pant for the conclusion of a treaty. Vyankaji met his former counsellor who dictated the terms of the peace which were as follows: The territory round Gingee, some other forts and the Mysore tableland were to be retained by Shivaji, while Vyankaji should rule his dominions in and around Tanjore. For this he had to pay 3 lakhs of *pardoes* to Shivaji.[3] Vyankaji agreed to this settlement and ruled the Tanjore kingdom without any more danger. The *Jedhe*

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[1] R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 283.

[2] Sen: *Foreign Biographies*, p. 317.

[3] *English Records on Shivaji*, Vol. II, p. 164.

Chronology dates the peace treaty in November 1677.[1]

Subsequently in 1680, Shivaji obtained from the Bijapur Sultan, as the price of his alliance with him, all the territories he had conquered in the Karnatak together with the Tanjore principality. This turn of events upset Vyankaji who renounced his kingly duties, became negligent to government affairs, and adopted the attitude of a *sanyasi.* Shivaji in order to rouse his brother from despondency wrote an affectionate letter. "Do not become a *byragee*; throw off despondency, spend your days properly; attend to fasts, feasts and customary usages, and attend to your personal comforts. Look to the employment of your people, the discipline of your army, and turn your attention to affairs of moment. Make your men do their duty; apply their services properly in your quarter, and gain fame and renown."[2] Vyankaji was freed from all fears of his half-brother by the latter's death in 1680.

Chokkanatha's last years were shrouded with calamity, and his expensive and abortive attempt to conquer Tanjore coupled with the intransigent and truculent attitude which

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[1] Patwardhan and Rawlinson: *op. cit.*, p. 40.

[2] Grant Duff: *History of the Mahrattas*, Vol. I, p. 214.

Vyankaji's relations with Madura.

Mysore assumed towards Madura foreboded the deterioration of the potency of the Madura kingdom. Public opinion was antagonistic to the weak policy of the Nayak, and it found its culmination in the dethronement of Chokkanatha and the crowning of his brother Muthulinga Nayak.[1] A change in kingship did not witness an improvement in the administration and nature's wrath devastated the whole country. The troubled state of affairs was taken advantage of by a Muḥammadan adventurer, Rustam Khan,[2] who assumed royal authority when the new king went out for a walk. "To make a show of justice, he took Sokkalinga out of the prison and declared him king; but in reality he reserved to himself all authority and all the privileges of royalty."[3] The dominance of Rustam Khan continued for two years, when Chokkanatha was relieved of him due to the organized attempt of Dalavai Govindappaiya and the Setupati which saw the murder of Rustam Khan and his followers.[4]

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[1] Bertrand: *La Mission du Madure* III, p. 273.

[2] Rustam Khan is considered as a favourite of Chokkanatha by the *History of the Carnataca Governors* (Taylor *O.H.Mss*; II p. 35) and also by a *Mackenzie Manuscript* (Ibid p. 185); but another *Mackenzie Ms.* regards him as a friend of Muthulinga (Ibid p. 203).

[3] R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 286.

[4] Taylor *O.H.Mss.*, II, pp. 185–189 and 203–4,

Dalavai Kumaraiya, the Mysore general, attacked Trichinopoly with a strong army, and besieged it in 1680. To meet the exigency Chokkanatha called to aid Arasumalai, the general of the Marathas at Gingee, and Vyankaji. The latter forgot the traditional animosity with Madura and readily responded to the call. The Maravas also came to help their liege-lord, Chokkanatha. Trichinopoly was thus besieged by four armies each under the control of one of the following: Kumaraiya, Arasumalai, Vyankaji and *Kilavan* Setupati. Chokkanatha without moving a finger was watching the diplomatic manoeuvres of the respective generals. The Mysore general Kumaraiya became alive to the danger to which he was exposed, and to escape from the critical situation exerted his energies to seduce his opponents. In the first instance, he extended his hand of friendship to Chokkanatha himself to whom he promised the integrity of his kingdom and also to restore Tanjore and Gingee to the successors of the ancient Nayak rulers. But Chokkanatha was shrewd enough not to be tempted by the offer. Then the Mysore general made overtures to Arasumalai, which also fell on deaf ears. When diplomacy had failed, he wanted to succeed by a strategem. But the ever-vigilant Arasumalai noticed this, and falling on the army of Kumaraiya, exterminated it with incredible butchery, while the general himself was captured. The territories formerly

owned by Mysore fell into the hands of Arasumalai, who pursued the siege of Trichinopoly more vigorously to the horror of Chokkanatha. Chokkanatha did not live long.

With the lapse of years, *Kilavan* Setupati tried to make himself independent. It was he who along with Vyankaji and Arasumalai relieved Chokkanatha from the clutches of the Mysore general. But his relationship with Chokkanatha's successor Muthu Virappa II was not very cordial; and in 1686 he associated with himself Venkatakrishnappa, the ex-Dalavai of Madura, Vyankaji and Chengamaladas—the last Nayak ruler who had meanwhile got himself reconciled with Vyankaji—for a joint attack on Madura. In consideration for this aid, the *Kilavan* promised to cede to Tanjore "for a term of twelve years the districts lying between the Pambar and Pattu kottai."[1] The campaign proved abortive and Kumara Pillai, the Ramnad Dalavai and a loyal adherent of the Madura Nayak, attempted to seize *Kilavan* and Venkatakrishnappa and hand them over to Muthu Virappa. But the Setupati was more than a match to the Dalavai whom he captured and flayed him alive. The war with Madura dragged on into the reign of Shahji, and in a decisive battle the

Relations with the Setupati.

[1] Nelson: *The Madura Manual*, p. 213.

Madura troops were defeated. An inscription of 1686 records the boast of Shahji that he had "conquered all the Pattukottai country inhabited by Kallans, extending to the south, as far as the Pambanar"[1] which illustrates the success that attended the arms of the allies, and the generosity of *Kilavan* Setupati towards his colleague, the Tanjore Bhonsle.

Death of Vyankaji.

Vyankaji died according to the Marathi inscription in the Tanjore temple in Saka 1604 Rudirodhgari (1683)[2] which means that he reigned for only seven years—also confirmed by the British Commission of 1799 and by the Reverend Father Schwartz. But Wilks observes that Vyankaji was alive in 1686-87 when he negotiated the sale of Bangalore to Chikka Deva Raya, the then Mysore ruler.[3] Orme dates the capture of Tanjore by Vyankaji as 1680 and opines that he reigned for six years.[4] *Dharmakuta* a Sanskrit work mentions that Ekoji abdicated in favour of his son Shahji and this is corroborated in Ayya Aval's *Śāhen dra Vilasa Kavya.*[5] Louis de Mello in a letter from

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[1] *Tanjore Gazetteer*, Vol. I, p. 253.

[2] The *Jedhe Chronology* says that Vyankaji died at Tanjore in 1685. *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 29.

[3] Wilks: *History of Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 56.

[4] Orme: *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, p. 297.

[5] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 33, p. 187.

Madura in 1686 says that 'the Thieves and Maravas make a war of brigandage against the troops of Ekoji.'[1] Above all an inscription at Pattukottai mentions Shahji as Maharaj in the year 1686, which means that Vyankaji died in the beginning of that year.[2] Ranade also gives the same year for the death of Vyankaji.[3]

Vyankaji's administration

The reign of Vyankaji was a troubled one, and therefore he was unable to establish a sound administrative machinery. Moreover, his usurpation of the Ṭanjore throne naturally turned the mind of the people against him and all his actions were directed to win their favour. Andre Freire speaks in almost hyperbolic language about his administration. He thus writes: "The justice and wisdom of his government begin to heal the wounds of the preceding reign and develop the natural resources of this country, one of the most remarkable in all India by the fertility of its lands and the wealth of its production."[4] He dug canals and constructed tanks, and afforded ample scope for the cultivation of the soil, which

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[1] R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 292.

[2] *M. E. R.* 1926, p. 125.

[3] Ranade: *Rise of the Maratha Power*, p. 247.

[4] *La Mission du Madure* III: R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 280.

in course of time converted the Tanjore kingdom into a green garden. But he was not destined to rule in peace, for the invasion of his brother set at naught his constructive programme and compelled him to resort to heavy taxation. Pressed on the one side by his brother, and on the other by the Madura Nayak, while his country was devastated by the turbulent Maravas from the south, Vyankaji had to impose heavy burdens on his subjects in order to find money to fight all these enemies. The deterioration in the tone of the administration became pronounced as years rolled on; and Andre Freire's letter of 1682 gives the following sad picture: "I shall say little about Tanjore; the tyranny of Ekoji (Vyankaji) continues his work of destruction there. After plundering the men, he has fallen on the *pagodas* of his own idols. One had never seen so much temerity in a pagan, but he is a pagan who has no other God than his cupidity. To satisfy it, he has appropriated the treasures of the *pagodas* and their large possessions. The Brahmans came in vain to lament and represent to him that their Gods were abandoned without offerings, because the rice fields whose produces was intended for their worship, had been taken away from them. He replied to them that the Gods did not eat rice, and that offerings of fragrant flowers would suffice. It can be judged from

this how Ekoji treats his subjects."[1] Added to this, storm and floods heavily injured the land at this time.

Father Britto's letter of 1683 describes Vyankaji's land revenue administration. "Ekoji takes away four-fifths of all the produce. As if this were not enough, he enforces payment in cash, and as he is careful to fix the price himself much above what the owner can realize, it happens that the sale of the whole harvest is never sufficient to pay the tax. Accordingly, the cultivators are burdened with a crushing debt and often they are obliged to prove their inability to pay, when they have to pay, by submitting to barbarous tortures."[2] It is therefore clear that Vyankaji's administration was not marked by any clemency. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's attempted vindication of Vyankaji is unconvincing in the light of this evidence. He speaks about the "deliberate falsification of history by later Maratha writers," and observes "that contemporary records enable us to correct these misrepresentations and put Vyankaji's character in a true light, as no unworthy brother of Shivaji."[3] He speaks about his splendid administration and quotes the testimony of Andre Freire's letter of 1676. It is

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[1] Bertrand: *La Mission du Madure* III, p. 306.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 338.
[3] Sarkar: *Shivaji* p. 314.

true that Vyankaji in the early years of his rule, in order to win public esteem and co-operation, did all that depicted in Freire's letter. But his real character is revealed when he began to oppress his people with burdens in order to pay his brother, and the two letters, one from Freire himself in 1682 and another from Father Britto in 1683, bring home to us beyond doubt, the irresponsible autocracy established by this worthy brother of Shivaji.

But Vyankaji was a great soldier. That he was cast in a heroic mould is indisputable. From his early age, unlike Shivaji, he had been under the strict eye of his father. In 1658 he captured Srisailam, and in 1663 accompanied his father during the latter's visit to Maharashtra to meet Shivaji. Till his usurpation of the Tanjore throne in 1675, he was a loyal supporter of the Bijapur Sultan. While Shivaji co-operated with Jaisingh in 1665 against Bijapur, Vyankaji fought conspicuously for his liegelord, the Adil Shah.[1] It was he who conquered Tanjore from Chokkanatha's deputy, reinstated the legitimate prince, but soon afterwards usurped the throne himself, thus extending Maratha dominion in that region against the wishes of the Adil Shah. Further he opposed Santaji with courage and won an initial success over

[1] Jadunath Sarkar: *Shivaji* (1929) pp. 134 and 314.

him. There is no doubt the *Bakhars* unduly decry Vyankaji in order to glorify Shivaji by marked contrast and to justify the desertion of Raghunath Hanumante from Tanjore. Though a great Vedantic dialectician, a glorious civil officer, and the author of a dictionary of political terminology, Raghunath was an inordinate lover of money, and an exacting adviser unfit to guide or persuade a prince of spirit like Vyankaji. Further Vyankaji suffers in comparison with his famous half-brother; while the one acquiesced in Muhammadan domination, the other rebelled against it. Certainly "Shivaji was far in advance of his age; Ekoji was not."[1]

During the period of his rule over Tanjore Vyankaji did not make any attempt at a Pan-Maratha organization, nor did he take into his confidence the collateral branches ruling at Satara and at Gingee which might have helped him in that direction to a great extent. The constant bickerings among the kingdoms embittered their relationship and "a great opportunity was thus lost for hegemony in South India and the display of constructive genius.[2]" In fact the exclusive and detached attitude

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[1] S. N. Sen: *Studies in Indian History*, p. 137.

[2] K. R. Subramanian: *The Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*, p. 21.

which Tanjore assumed from the time of Vyankaji's accession is largely responsible for the feeble resistance that she offered to the Muhammadans. He was not able to continue his hold intact over his father's jaghir in Mysore, and the persistent attacks of the Mughals and the Mysoreans cost him all his dominions there. In 1687 he had to negotiate the sale of Bangalore to the Mysore king[1] and his successors could barely defend Tanjore itself from the incursions of the enemy.

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[1] The Mysore ruler, Chikka Deva Raya, bought Bangalore for three lakhs of rupees. In the succeeding year (1688) he wrested Hoskota and some places of minor importance from the Marathas who held them and pushing his conquests to the eastward into the region below the ghats, extended his sway over a considerable portion of the Baramahal and of Salem.
Wilks: *History of Mysore* Vol. I, pp. 56-58.

CHAPTER IV.

GINGEE UNDER THE MARATHAS. A.D. 1677-99.

The strategic position which Gingee occupied had always enabled its governor to assume a defiant attitude to his overlord and endeavour to assert his independence. Gingee was one of the great fiefs of the Vijayanagara empire along with Tanjore and Madura. The sustained disloyalty of Gingee and Madura to the Empire is so very well known and when Śrīraṅga III came to the throne in A.D. 1642, it became pronounced and resulted ultimately in Gingee falling a prey to the aggressions of Bijapur under Mustafa Khan and Shahji in December 1648. This was traceable to the short-sighted policy of Tirumala who invited the Muhammadans to help him in his attempt to frustrate Śrīraṅga's endeavour at the assertion of his supremacy and territorial consolidation.[1] Never was treachery so badly rewarded and Tirumala had the mortification to see his seeming allies turn into enemies.

Shivaji's conquest of Gingee.

From the beginning of 1649 till its conquest by Shivaji in the autumn of 1677 Gingee was ruled by Bijapur governors, the first to occupy

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[1] See *supra* pp. 51-64

the post being Sayyid Nasir Khan. The great general of Bijapur, Shahji, moved about in the neighbouring districts, attacking and encroaching on the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura. He extended the Bijapur territory in the south at the expense of Tanjore which was defeated in 1659. He also annexed to his possessions Tegnapatam and Porto Novo in 1661. The attempts of Chokkanatha Nayak of Madura to drive back Shahji into the interior proved abortive, and with the help of 'Vanamian'[1]—the famous general of Bijapur, Shahji contrived to besiege Trichinopoly in 1663 and to force Chokkanatha to pay tribute. As long as Shahji was alive he was a terror to the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madura.

During all these years, Gingee was badly governed and the governors left no cruelty unpractised. For Andre Freire writes in 1666 as follows: "But nothing can equal the cruelties which the Muhammadans employ in the government of Gingee; expression fails me to recount the atrocities which I have seen with my eyes; and if I were to describe them, truth would be incredible."[2] This tyrannous exercise of power, coupled with the intrigues of the fief-holders greatly undermined the strength of the Gingee

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[1] Sir J. Sarkar identifies him with Bahlol Khan Miana. *House of Shivaji*, p. 31.

[2] R. Satyanatha Iyer: *Nayaks of Madura*, p. 279.

subah, and when the Maratha invader came in 1677, neither the impregnable fortification of the place, nor the man power commanded by its governor was able to save it. Rauf Khan and Nasir Khan who were in charge of the fortress submitted to Shivaji. The latter perceived the strategic importance of the fort, improved its ramparts, constructed wells and provided other amenities.[1] Such a strengthening of the fortress of Gingee saved the Marathas during the critical years of Mughal aggression and provided a sanctuary and a second home to Rajaram and his court. Instead of restoring Gingee to the Golkonda Sultan according to the treaty which Shivaji had concluded with him,[2] the newly acquired district was governed according to the same principles of administrative machinery with which Maharashtra was ruled, and was subjected to the same regulations and discipline.

Sambhaji and Gingee A.D. 1681-89.

Sambhaji, ascended the throne on 16th January 1681. Given to a life of sensuality and captivated by the charm of that Brahmin 'Sejanus', Kavikulesh, Sambhaji became culpably negligent of his kingly duties and could not visualise the general danger which threatened the Maratha empire when Aurangzib

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[1] *La Mission du Madure* III, p. 271.

[2] Sen: *Foreign Biographies*, p. 275.

vowed in a passion that he would not return to Delhi until he had seen Sambhaji's bleeding head weltering at his feet."[1] His impetuosity and arrogance deprived him of the valuable services of the trusted servants of his father, like Raghunath Pant, his brother Janardhan Pant, Annaji Datto, Netaji Palker, and Avji Pandit. There never was a period in Maratha history which witnessed such a dearth of talents, and this contributed substantially to the success of Aurangzib in Maharashtra.

On the death of Raghunath Pant, Harji Mahadik, a brother-in-law of Sambhaji, was made the viceroy of the Gingee country with Shamji Nayak Punde as his adviser.[2] The letter from the Subhedar of Porto Novo to Gyfford, the Madras Governor, speaks about the assumption of office by Harji Rajah and the direction given by the Subhedar to all the subordinates to obey the viceroy.[3] The new viceroy was no ordinary man, and his activities at a place so far removed from the centre of the Maratha governmental machinery amounted to an attempt at establishing his independence. And here he was helped by the disharmony between Sambhaji and his nobles. Indeed, he succeeded in his

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[1] Orme: *Historical Fragments*, p. 201.

[2] *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 26.
The *Jedhe Chronology*.

[3] *Letters to Fort St. George* 1681-82, pp. 24-25.

attempt that he practically became the supreme master of Eastern Karnatak which enabled him to interfere in the affairs of the Nayak chiefs. So powerful was he that when the Nayak of Trichinopoly sought his help, he went with his army and defeated the Mysore general from whom he captured 2000 horse.[1] Having thus secured his position and effectively imposed his authority over the neighbourhood, he had the audacity to assume the title of 'Maharaj' to which he had no right.[2]

Harji Rajah's relations with the English.

Although the acquisition of Fort St. George by the English in A.D. 1639 gave them a trading settlement, yet it did not in any way secure them all facilities and complete immunity from foreign threats. The frequent disturbance caused to trade due to the subversive activities of the Dutch and the French on the one hand, and the hostile attitude of Golkonda on the other revealed to the English the hopeless position they occupied, and impelled them to seek a safer place as their trade centre. It was not until 1673 that they realized the urgency of the need, and the offer made by the Bijapur governor of Gingee, Nasir Mahomed Khan, that a suitable settlement

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[1] Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 53.

[2] Orme: *Historical Fragments*, p. 300.

on his coast might be selected was taken up by the English.[1] But nothing came out of the negotiations and Shivaji's Carnatic expedition put an end to the scheme. Where the English had failed the French succeeded, and the energetic and enterprising François Martin persuaded the Bijapur governor of Gingee to grant him permission to build a factory at Pondicherry in 1674 which later on was fortified.

The English at Madras felt their position increasingly irksome as Lingappa, the faujdar of the Poonamalle district, on behalf of the Golkonda government, extended the exactions and impositions and greatly paralysed trading activities. Hence in 1681, the English grew to be very anxious to treat with the Subhadar of Gingee and obtain permission to build factories at Cuddalore or Kunimedu and at Porto Novo.[2]

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[1] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book* 1672-78, p. 21.
"The Khan of Gingee, Nasir Muhammad Khan having by his letter of 10th March and by his Agent Hakim Ismail alias (Manoel de Olivera) offerd to the Agent and Council at Fort St. George to give them leave to settle factories at or near Porto Novo and at Valudavur near Pondicherry and to make forts for their own defence with promises of great privileges and a very friendly invitation thereto, and requested an agent to be sent to him, along with a present sent by him."

[2] "Upon consideration of Podela Lingappa's threat to stop trade and besiege Madras by order of the court, it is resolved to be for the Company's interest to be at the charge of obtaining a cowle to settle a factory in the Gingee country—which is out of Golkonda's dominions—which is a matter of great security to the

They therefore befriended Gopal Dadaji Pandit, the Maratha subhedar of Porto Novo, to speak to Harji Rajah on their behalf. Harji Rajah seems to have been much impressed with the account given by Dadaji about the English and expressed his willingness to grant to the English the liberty to construct settlements in his seaports.[1] On receiving a favourable reply in April 1681, Robert Freeman was sent to select places for the establishment of factories in the Gingee country.[2] Robert Orme is of opinion that it was the endeavour of Elihu Yale which obtained from Harji Mahadik permission to construct a factory at Cuddalore. They were not successful at Porto Novo for when the English despatched a ship to that port, the Maratha governor of that place imposed such heavy duties that it had to return with the factors undisembarked and the cargo unladen. "Even Harji Rajah had imposed an additional duty on all the cloth provided for the Company within his immediate

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Company's investments. The settling of a factory in the Gingee country will keep them in greater respect to this place and secure large investments that being the best country for cloth. It is resolved that letters should be written to the Maratha Subhedar of Gingee to grant the English a cowle for factories at Cuddalore or Kunimedu and at Porto Novo. If we think fit a person may be sent to obtain the said cowle as soon as possible." *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1681, p. 89.

[1] *Letters to Fort St. George*, 1681-82, pp. 24-25.

[2] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1681.

districts. In consequence the Council of Madras requested the Presidency at Surat to procure a *phirmaund* from Sambhaji for the abolition of the import, with his permission to build a fort somewhere near Cuddalore and his order for the punishment of the governor of Porto Novo."[1]

The English finally succeeded in their attempts, and Sambhaji himself granted them permission to build factories in the Gingee country. The destruction of the English ship *President* by the Arabs who were hired by Sambhaji, gave the factors a favourable occasion to press their demand, as they could now charge Sambhaji with this accusation. In 1684 Captain Gary was sent to Sambhaji's court to carry on the negotiations, "to require the completion of former agreements as well as the redress of late violations and to solicit the *phirmaunds* which had been requested by the Government of Madras for the freedom and increase of their trade in the Gingee country."[2] Sambhaji was not prepared to wound the feelings of the English anymore, and as such he granted in the Gingee country "a factory at Cuddalore and Thevenapatam, with the ancient immunities allowed by Bijapur to the factory at Canimeer, and allowed free trade at Porto Novo. Keigwin

[1] Orme: *Historical Fragments*, p. 116.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 136.

and his Council are named in the patents as the parties to whom the grants are made."[1]

The successful operations of the Mughal army in the south and the reduction of Bijapur in 1686 together with the siege of Golkonda in January 1687 roused Sambhaji from his sloth and made him alive to the new danger which threatened his dominions. "The Maratha king's absorption, in vice, the baneful predominance of the favourite Kavi-Kalas in his councils, the consequent disorder in the kingdom, and the increasing Mughal pressure on Maharashtra under the personal direction of Aurangzib, all tended to extinguish Sambhaji's authority in the far-off province of Gingee and to make the local viceroy his own master."[2] Harji Rajah openly asserted his independence and would not send the surplus revenue to Raigad. Added to the truculent attitude of the Gingee viceroy, Vyankaji the Tanjore ruler, contrived to take possession of those territories that he had lost to his brother Shivaji, and refused to abide by the peace-terms which he had agreed to in 1677. To check on the one hand the insubordination of his vassals[3] and thereby

Harji Rajah's relations with Sambhaji.

[1] Ibid, p. 137.

[2] Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, Vol, V, p. 53.

[3] Orme: *Historical Fragments*, p. 155.

protect his dominions in the Carnatic, as well as to present a formidable opposition to the surging tide of Mughal expansion, Sambhaji sent in 1687 to the south a strong force of 12,000 horse under the command of Keshav Pingle and Santaji Ghorpade. Indeed the whole plan had been engineered by Kavikulesh who, envious of Harji advised Sambhaji to take such a course[1] and Keshav Pingle was directed to depose Harji and declare himself viceroy.[2]

Aurangzib was alarmed to notice the advance of the Maratha army into the south and he feared a possible attack on Mysore ; to prevent it he detached a large body of troops under Qasim Khan, and sent it against Bangalore which was conquered. Keshav Pingle was disappointed in his expectation of a quiet assumption of authority at Gingee, for Harji previously informed of the intention of Sambhaji had effectively secured Gingee under his own ward and trusted soldiers. Having no other choice, Keshav Santaji came to an understanding with Harji by which they agreed to march to the relief of

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[1] Kincaid and Parasnis: *A History of the Maratha People*, p. 142.

[2] The Madras Diary says that Harji Rajah was dismissed and that Keshav Pingle will be the next viceroy. *Madras Diary and Consultation*, 1687, pp. 50-51. Also *Letters to Fort St. George*, Vol. IV 1686-87, p. 94. 22nd and 26th March 1687.

Bangalore with an army of 18,000 horse partly reinforced by Harji's contingent.[1]

But the fall of Golkonda in September 1687 changed the whole situation, and Aurangzib made speedy arrangements to enforce his supremacy over the Carnatic possessions of the Adil Shah. A body of 6,000 Mughal horse under the command of Nawab Asad Khan seized the country between Masulipatam and Ganjam. The Golkonda governor of Cuddapah accepted the overlordship of the Mughal Emperor, and the Hindu chiefs of Conjeevaram and Poonamalle followed suit. Long before Keshav Pingle could reach Bangalore the Mughal reinforcements had strengthened the garrison of that place, and the Maratha leaders had to return to the Gingee country empty-handed. The failure of Keshav Pingle to prevent the success of the Mughal arms greatly fanned the ill-feeling between him and Harji Rajah. The former now demanded the surrender of Gingee to himself in accordance with the order of Sambhaji and this was refused. Harji Rajah, cautious as he was, suspected the loyalty of his nobles and troops

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[1] Orme: *Historical Fragments*, p. 156.

The *Jedhe Chronology* says that Harji Rajah captured Keso Pingle at Tiruvannamalai and released him only a month before his death. *Shivaji Souvenir*, pp. 31-32.

and carefully secured the fort of Tevanapatam[1], near Cuddalore as a retreat on emergency. He strove to retain the loyalty of his men by various means. Having thus strengthened himself, Harji boldly ordered Keshav Pingle to proceed with his troops to the north of the river Palar, where the Mughals had captured the forts and were freely plundering. Keshav Pingle refused to do so, and Harji, not caring to utilise the services of such an unwilling captain, sent a detachment under two of his officers with the same order. They met with no serious opposition in their advance, peeled the land of its wealth[2], reconquered Arcot, Conjeevaram and Poonamalle. Keshav Pingle had, meanwhile, repented of his foolish refusal and independently plundered those districts. After capturing Chetpat and Kaveripauk, he established his camp at Conjeevaram.[3]

The activities of Harji Rajah and his associates gave great annoyance to Aurangzib,

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[1] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1687, p. 198.

[2] "Having advice from the Maratha camp that Maratha forces in the Gingee country under the command of Harji Maharaja were upon their march with 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot with great number of pioneers and scaling ladders, that they had plundered and taken several towns belonging lately to the kingdom of Golkonda and committed various other atrocities that most the inhabitants left Conjeevaram and other places to secure their persons and estates." *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1687, p. 203.

[3] Orme: *Historical Fragments*, p. 160.

and to punish them he directed four generals of the conquered kingdom of Golkonda—Ismail Khan Maka, Yachappa Nayak, Rustam Khan and Mahammad Sadiq—to proceed to the Carnatic and prevent the further depredations of the Marathas. On 25th February 1688, these generals arrived at Conjeevaram with 4,000 horse and 7,000 foot.[1] The Marathas retreated and retired to their nearest forts on either side of the river Palar, while the Mughals garrisoned Poonamalle and Wandiwash. Both the armies avoided a pitched battle and spent some months in plundering the adjoining territories. This kind of organized brigandage continued for one year and the trading interests of the English Company got greatly affected. Furthermore a terrible famine ravaged the whole region and frequent skirmishes were indulged in between the new Mughal faujdar and the local chiefs.[2]

The capture of Sambhaji by the Mughals in February 1689 was very disastrous in its effects on the Maratha empire. Not only was the continuance of any stable administration at Raigad made impossible, but the distant provinces dropped away from loyalty. When Harji Rajah heard the news, he imprisoned Keshav Pingle and his men who were stationed

[1] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book* 1688, p. 38.
[2] Ibid 1689, p. 34.

at Tiruvannamalai and thereby freed himself from the danger of a potent rival. But the success of the Mughals and the plight of Maharashtra greatly perturbed him and at one time he thought of accepting the overlordship of Aurangzib and paying him the stipulated tribute.[1] Yet the spirit of defiance in him revolted against the entertainment of such a base ideal and by strengthening the fortress of Gingee and increasing his army he wanted to challenge the Mughals from that impregnable place.[2] He did not live to triumph over the Mughals,[3] and after his death his wife Ambika Bai governed the province on behalf of her minor sons.

Flight of Rajaram 1689.

While thus the Maratha empire was facing annihilation at the hands of Aurangzib, the great leaders of Maharashtra met at Raigad to decide the future course. The Council was presided over by Yesu Bai, the widow of Sambhaji and among the distinguished gathering were present Santaji Ghorpade, Dhanaji Jadhav, Kande Rao Dabhade, Prahlad Niraji, Khando

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[1] Ibid, pp. 33 and 66.

[2] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1689, p. 69.

[3] *The Madras Diary* records on the 26th September, 1689, the receipt of the news of Harji's death. *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1689, p. 84. The *Jedhe Chronology* says that Harji died on the 29th September 1689. *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 32.

Ballal Chitnis, the finance minister Ramachandra Nilakanth Bavdekhar, and the great Brahman minister Janardhan Hanumante. At any cost Yesu Bai and her son Shivaji should be protected from the wrath of Aurangzib. In a splendid speech Prahlad Niraji outlined the future policy and observed that the forts must be garrisoned and discipline in the army enforced, while a field army reinforced from the Carnatic should be formed to engage the Mughal army. It was decided that Rajaram should command the army and Shivaji be kept under strong protection at Raigad. Rajaram in an inspiring speech exhorted the Maratha nobles to forget their mutual differences and work with a determination for the common cause, and concluded as follows :—"I am but the Prince's servant; you must, it is true, give me your obedience, but your loyalty and devotion you must keep for my master. Do but this and I am confident that we shall not only save the kingdom but bring to pass the prophecy of the goddess."[1]

Meanwhile the Mughal Emperor directed his main attacks for the capture of Raigad. The successful raids of Santaji Ghorpade on the Mughal camps could not mitigate the persistence with which the Emperor pursued his plan. When it became evident that Rajaram could no longer

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[1] Kincaid and Parasnis : *A History of the Maratha People*, p. 153.

maintain Raigad it was arranged that he should escape with Prahlad Niraji, Dhanaji Jadav. Santaji Ghorpade and some others to Gingee. The government of Maharashtra was entrusted to Ramachandra Bavdekar with the title of *Hakumat-Panah* (refuge of authority). He was practically independent of Rajaram for nine years (1689-97). He not only kept the mutual jealousies of the Maratha sardars under control, but effectively raided the *Mughalai* and helped his master at Gingee. "Ramachandra's masterly insight and consummate tact were proved by his exact adaptation of his policy and plan of operations to the genius of his countrymen and the actual situation in the midst of which he had to work."[1]

Rajaram left Panhala about the 30th June 1689[2] and after many hair-breath escapes, arrived at Gingee in the autumn of 1689[3]. Harji Rajah, the viceroy, could not have welcomed him, for he was already dead in September 1689. Rajaram took over the government of Gingee from the hands of Harji's widow and

[1] Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V. p. 24.

[2] Ibid, p. 24.

[3] Paper 347 in Rajwade's Volume XV is dated April 1690. It contains the news of Rajaram's arrival at Gingee. But a Factory letter puts 6th December 1689 as the date of the arrival of Rajaram at Gingee. *Madras Diary and Consultation Book* 1689, p. 95.

formed his own Ashtapradhan which contained the following worthies:[1]

1. Nilo Moro Pingle: Peshwa.
2. Janardhan Hanumante: Amatya or Finance Minister.
3. Shankar Malhar Nargundkar: Pant Sachiv or Accountant-General.
4. Shamjirao Pinde: Mantri or Home Member.
5. Mahadji Gadadhar: Sumant or Foreign Minister.
6. Shrikaracharya Kalkavkar; Panditrao
7. Niraji Ravaji: Chief Justice.
8. Santaji Ghorpade: Commander-in-chief.

Above the Ashtapradhans stood Prahlad Niraji as Prithinidhi, who is described by Grant Duff as "a very uncommon person and in his total disregard of self-interest almost a singular instance of a Brahman statesman."[2] But the French authorities say that he threw Rajaram into a life of debauchery, gave him intoxicants like opium and seized the reality of power.[3] It is true that Rajaram allowed himself to be overshadowed by the Prithinidhi and Ramachandra Bavdekar, the dictator of the west. "Raja Ram's political impotence is best illustrated by his

[1] Kincaid and Parasnis: *A History of the Maratha People*, p. 160.
[2] Grant Duff: *History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, p. 300.
[3] Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 64.

duplication of officers and titles at a time when his kingdom was shrinking to nothing."[1] Still the policy of decentralization doubled the strength of the Marathas and the difficulties of Aurangzib.

The gloomy situation compelled Rajaram to revive the *Saranjami* system. The Marathas having no money, no army and no government, allowed Aurangzib to exploit this predicament by offering them attractive baits for deserting their national cause and joining his standard. Hence counter-inducements had to be offered by Rajaram to his own compatroits. He issued sanads to these leaders, guaranteeing them the ownership of the territory they might conquer. On the strength of these sanads, the chiefs financed and conducted their own expeditions even to distant places. "The jaghir was often granted in districts still in Mughal possession and the favoured jaghirdar had frequently to kill the bear before he could own the skin."[2] Thus under stern necessity was the pernicious system revived. Its central defect was that the successors of the first jaghirdar enjoyed the jaghir without rendering any service to the state. "This habit of enjoying land assessments without personal fitness and without giving any

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[1] *Ibid*, pp. 194–95.

[2] Sen: *Military System of the Marathas*, pp. 55–56

labour in return sapped the very foundations of public service and the morals of society."[1]

Resort was also made to the guerilla type of warfare which was best suited to Maharashtra and her people. The numerous Maratha bands acting independently of one another, and practising guerilla tactics caused great harm to the Mughals who "did not know what point to defend, nor where to find a vital enemy position for their attack." The Marathas spread out everywhere and attacked their enemies in the most unexpected places, thus creating confusion and rebellion everywhere, levying *chauth*, dislodging their enemies from some fixed points of theirs, and strengthening their own position.[2]

The finances of Rajaram at the time when he began his new government at Gingee were not of a hopeful nature, and therefore the *Ashtapradhans* had to look after the best method of raising money.[3] The opulence of the foreign companies attracted the attention of the Maratha leaders, and the subhadar of Gingee demanded 3,000 *pagodas* as fee for the buildings

Negotiations with the English and the grant of Fort St. David.

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[1] Sardesai : *Main Currents of Maratha History* p. 95.

[2] Sarkar : *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 196.

[3] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1690, p, 30.

"The Marathas at Gingee, force money from the people there to defray the charges of the army which had made them leave Panhala."

of the factory at Kunimedu, while similar sums were extracted from the French and Dutch factories lying within his jurisdiction.[1] The financial embarrassments of the Gingee government increased as time rolled on and they offered for sale the Fort of Devanampatnam (Fort St. David) to the highest bidder. The Dutch, the English and the French competed with one another for the possession of the fort. The English wanted to send the chief of Kunimedu to Gingee to negotiate with Rajaram[2] for the sale deed and in June 1690 actual negotiations began. The Marathas wanted 200,000 *chakrams* as the price of the fort, which was classified under the following heads:

For the Fort	150,000	*Chakrams*
Present for Prahlad Niraji	15,000	„
„ for Raghuji Bhonsle	10,000	„
„ for the other officers of the Gingee government	25,000	„
Total	200,000	„

But the Company proposed to offer 50,000 *chakrams*; it was finally agreed that 60,000

[1] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1689, p. 97.

[2] *Ibid.*

chakrams should be paid to the Gingee government for the acquisition of Devanampatnam. The place with its surrounding fertile villages offered facilities for a brisk trade and compelled the English to obtain it at all costs, and the Governor in his private talks with Sundar Balaji, the Maratha Subhadar of Kunimedu, was able to reduce the payment to 51,500 *chakrams*. The agreement entered into by Sundar Balaji was as follows :—" I Soundee Ballojee, servant to the magnificient Ram Raja king of the Chingie country &c., have by his authority ordered, and agreed, and contracted with the Honourable Elihu Yale, Governor of Madras and Council for the said king's Fort at Tegnapatam with ground priviieges and all things belonging thereto, according to the form of a phirmaund now delivered me by the said Governor &c., for the summe of fifty-one thousand five hundred chakrams to be paid into the said Governor's &c., free and secure possession for account of the Right Honourable English East India Company. Witness my hand this 15th day of July Madras 1690."[1] Charles Barwell and Thomas Yale were sent by the Company to Gingee to negotiate with Rajaram for the *farman*. Rajaram was persuaded to give the *farman* and also grant to the English the control of Cuddalore. Hatsell was directed

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[1] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1690.

to proceed to Tegnapatam and take possession of the Fort which was named Fort St. David.

Rajaram's flight to Gingee did not save him from the wrath of the Emperor who was determined to root out the Marathas. He sent Zulfikar Khan, the victor of many battles, on an expedition against Gingee and his arrival is recorded in the Fort St. George Diary.[1] Rajaram tried his level best to prevent the onrush of the Mughal force and when it proved futile, left for a place of safety in the Tanjore kingdom whose king Shahji was a cousin of his.[2] Zulfikar Khan issued an order to the French to prevent Rajaram's escape by sea in an English ship.[3]

Siege of Gingee begins.

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[1] "A letter was received from Zulfikar Khan, General of the Mughal forces against Gingee and son to Asad Khan, the Grand Wazir, Lord High Chancellor to the Mughals, wherein amongst other things he importunately desired the English to supply him with 200 maunds of gun powder and 500 soldiers which if we deny him, will be resented and they will conclude, we side with Rajaram and complain to the Mughals against us thereof, to the hazarding of our peaceful settlement and trade overseas. Having been obliged to be friendly towards him, it was ordered that 200 maunds of powder alone should be sent as soldiers could not be spared." (*Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book*, 1690). The *Jedhe Chronology* says that the Khan laid siege to Gingee on 29th August 1690. *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 33.

[2] "Ekoji is sending a considerable supply of horses, men and money to Rama Raja who has resolved to keep the Mughals at bay." The *Diary* records Ekoji for Shahji. *Consultation Book*, 1690.

[3] Kaeppelin, p. 279.

The arrival of the huge Mughal army commanded as it was by Zulfikar at first created consternation in the minds of the people who expected the speedy fall of Gingee. But the Khan instead of actively engaging himself in the operation sat before the fortress and leisurely surveyed the country. This gave an opportunity for the Marathas to recover from the despondency which came upon them at first and to harass the Mughal troops and cut off their supplies. By this time Rajaram had received from Maharashtra 2000 horsemen and he returned to Gingee.[1]

Zulfikar's inactivity led to the desertion of many of the Deccani *mansabdars* who had accompanied him, and he sent word to the Emperor of the sad news that the enemy had successfully cut off his supplies and informed him that unless strong reinforcements were sent immediately, it would be difficult to carry on the siege operations. Aurangzib became alarmed at this news and directed Asad Khan, the Wazir, to proceed with Prince Kam Bakhsh to the succour of Zulfikar.[2] Meanwhile the latter instead of besieging

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[1] Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 73. *Jedhe Chronology*: *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 33.

[2] The English at Fort St. George hearing that Kam Bakhsh had arrived at Gingee, thought of sending a present to the Prince in order to gain his friendship. "The news of the Mughals' son (Prince Kam Bakhsh) coming down towards Gingee being now confirmed to us and Asad Khan the Wazir and himself being two of the

Gingee, took up the task of levying and collecting contributions from the southern Nayaks and poligars. Assisted by Ali Mardan Khan, the faujdar of Conjeevaram, he proceeded against Tanjore and Trichinopoly and collected tributes from them. He captured Tiruvannamalai, and directed the French at Pondicherry to siege Valudavur on his behalf; but they refused to comply with his request.

The operations of 1691 round Gingee produced no effect at all, and Zulfikar Khan began the new year (1692) with preparations for a vigorous attack on the fortress. He arranged his forces at the proper places round the fort; but the whole plan was frustrated owing to the severity of the rains,[1] while the arrival of reinforcements to the enemy's side numbering several thousands under the leadership of Dhanaji Jadav and Santaji Ghorpade [2] cast a

greatest peers in the kingdom it was thought necessary that a fitting person should be sent with a considerable present to the amount of 2000 pagodas with varieties including arms and cloth." (*Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1691, p. 36).

[1] Scott: *History of the Deccan by Ferishta*, Vol. II, p. 87.

[2] Among those who fought to preserve the honour of Maharashtra during the period between the flight of Rajaram to Gingee in 1689 and the accession of Maharaja Shahu to the throne at Satara in January 1708, two stand out most prominently; and they are Santaji Ghorpade and Dhanaji Jadav. Although there was perpetual rivalry between the two soldiers for primacy, still their

gloom on Zulfikar Khan. This huge Maratha army divided itself into two sections, one marching against Kaveripak, and the other section against the camp establishment of Zulfikar. Ali Mardan Khan, the Mughul faujdar of Conjeevaram, went out to meet the army under Santaji, and in the battles which followed not only was his army routed and his district (kingdom) plundered, but he was taken captive by the Maratha general from whom he was ransomed home by his brother-in-law, Ali-Qadir.[1]

As the army under Dhanaji approached Gingee, Zulfikar ordered all the commanders

independent endeavours thwarted the attempts of the Mughals to crush the Maratha empire. Santaji was a distant relative of Baji Ghorpade, the enemy of Shahji Bhonsle. He followed Rajaram to Gingee and there was made the *Senapati* of the *Ashtapradhan* council. His daring exploits and plundering raids bewildered the Mughals whom he defeated at Kaveripauk, Dodderi, and Basavapatam in 1692, 1695 and 1695 respectively. The rivalry between him and Dhanaji Jadav increased as years rolled on till finally in the battle near Conjeevaram Santaji won a victory over his rival. Inspite of his many weaknesses, Santaji was a military genius, and the testimony of Khafi khan illustrates his greatness. "There was no Imperial *Amir* bold enough to resist him, and every loss he inflicted on their forces made the boldest warriors quake." (Elliot and Dowson: *History of India*, Vol. VII, p. 347). "Even Alamgir had to wonder at the intrepedity of this Maratha hero for in force of genius he was the greatest Maratha soldier after Shivaji." (*Cambridge history of India*, Vol. IV, p. 295).

[1] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1693. The *Jedhe Chronology* says that Santaji captured Ali Mardan Khan near Conjeevaram. *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 34.

stationed at the outposts to join the main army. But the section under Ismail Khan was not able to join in time and Dhanaji encountered his forces successfully and carried him away as prisoner to Gingee.[1] "The victorious Marathas immediately proclaimed their authority over the Haidarabadi Karnatak—'the Conjeevaram and Kadapa countries'—appointing Keshava Ramana as their subhadar at the head of 1000 horse and 4000 foot."[2]

Difficulties of Zulfikar Khan

Zulfikar's troubles thickened as days advanced while the rebellious attitude of Kam Bakhsh and his treasonable negotiations with Rajaram distracted his attention and compelled him to keep a close watch on the misguided prince. Every move of the prince in his negotiations with the Marathas was reported to Asad Khan and Zulfikar through the agency of an excellent spy system. The Marathas understood the difficulties of the Mughals[3] who were hemmed in between the army in the fort and the forces under Dhanaji outside, and utilized this favourable opportunity to the fullest advantage. Zulfikar fought on undaunted and forced the Marathas to retreat with heavy losses into the

[1] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 2th Jan 1693.

[2] Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V p. 80.

[3] See C. S. Srinivasachari: *History of Gingee and its Rulers* pp. 304.

fortress. Meanwhile Kam Bakhsh had plotted to arrest the two generals and when they heard this they entered the prince's quarters. As he was about to escape he was caught by the imperial soldiers who brought him before Asad Khan. The Khan not only reprimanded him,[1] but had him confined and kept under observation. By this he once for all destroyed all hopes of the Marathas who wanted to take advantage of the quarrels among the Mughal leaders.

Mughals retreat to Wandiwash

The arrest of Kam Bakhsh did not solve the problem of the Mughal army. The Marathas under Santaji Ghorpade successfully cut off all supplies of food to the starving Mughal army. "Zulfikar then marched out of his own division to bring in grain from Wandiwash, 24 miles north-east of Gingee. He arrived there at night. His Turani soldiers, under cover of the darkness, fell on the helpless grain-dealers and carried off whatever they could seize. All discipline was lost. In the morning the Khan collected the grain left unplundered by his men and set out on his return journey."[2] The grain brought into the Mughal camp was not suffi-

[1] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book* 1693. p. 40.

[2] Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 88. On the way Santaji with 20,000 men barred his path at Desur, 10 miles from Wandiwash, with the result that the Khan took shelter in the Desur Fort. *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1693, p. 23.

cient to feed the vast numbers of the soldiery for any length of time, while the threatening attitude of the Marathas and their constant raids on supply sources frustrated the plans of Zulfikar and Azad Khan. The latter now made "secret overtures of peace to Rajaram offering a heavy bribe if he was allowed to retreat to Wandiwash unmolested."[1] Rajaram, though advised to crush the demoralised Mughal army,[2] allowed Zulfikar to make a retreat to Wandiwash, February 1693. The imperial army heaved a sigh of relief when they realised that they were far away from the relentless attacks of the Marathas.

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[1] Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V. p. 90. "They made truce with Rama Raja for two days in which time Zulfikar Khan removed to Wandiwash, but for want of camels and oxen he was forced to leave much of their baggage behind to the destruction of the Marathas, which gave occasion to the report that peace was made." (*Diary and Consultation Book*, 1693, p. 40). The *Jedhe Chronology: Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 34.

[2] Rajaram allowed Zulfikar Khan to escape with his army to Wandiwash without getting the consent of the two Maratha generals, Santaji and Dhanaji, who had come to help him. Both these commanders were naturally irritated with the conduct of Rajaram and the French Governor at Pondicherry. François Martin, sums up the then situation at Gingee in these words: " The commanders of the reinforcements which had come to Gingee (from Maharashtra in December, 1692) were extremely irritated that without their participation, Ramaraja, by the advice of his minister alone, had made a treaty with the Mughals. They bore a particular grudge against the latter (*i.e.*, the minister) whom they accused as having received a large sum for leaving to the Mughals a path open for their retiring in safety to their

The retreat of the Imperialists to Wandiwash culminated in the postponement of the siege operations round Gingee by a few months, and the lull was utilized for the restoration of communications between Delhi and the Carnatic. Zulfikar Khan's failure to carry on the siege of Gingee successfully was mainly due to lack of food supplies; and the predatory raids of Marathas taught the Mughal general that he must remove this defect before he ventured to make an assault on the Maratha stronghold. The Khan succeeded in his effort and from now onwards the Mughals suffered not from lack of food supplies; and the attempts of the Marathas to starve out their enemies proved abortive. The news that the Emperor was alive and not dead inspired the Imperialists and infused fresh vigour in them.

The disciplinary action taken against Kam Bakhsh by Asad Khan and Zulfikar, though

own territory. It was quite evident that the Marathas could have held them all at their discretion—namely Sultan Kam Baksh, the Wazir Asad Khan and his son and a large number of persons of rank who were in that army. They (the Maratha generals) represented that they could have extracted large sums as their ransom, besides being able to secure an advantageous treaty with the Mughal Emperor by restoring to him men of such importance. Santaji Ghordade............incensed by this act (of Rajaram) withdrew with his troops to some leagues from Gingee. We believe that Rajaram had acted from gratitude as he knew well that it would have been easy for Zulfikar to take Gingee." (Sir Jadunath Sarkar. *House of Shivaji*, p. 212).

justifiable under the circumstances, filled them with fear of punishment from the Emperor who might censure their conduct. Aurangzib ordered Asad Khan to bring his son to the presence and posted Prince Asam who was at Kadapa to join Zulfikar at Wandiwash. When the Wazir reached Sagar, he was ordered to stay there and send the prince alone to the Imperial camp. Kam Bakhsh explained his conduct to his father and charged Zulfikar Khan with treachery. Sarkar says that, as a mark of his disapproval of Asad Khan's policy, the Emperor mulcted him of a heavy sum, and later on gave him a graceless pardon[1]. Letters from Fort St. George tell us about the misunderstanding between the Emperor and Asad Khan. A letter of 22nd June 1691 says; "Grand Wazir Asad Khan had not arrived with Zulfikar Khan. We do not yet know whether he is called away from Gingee in displeasure, of which there are various reports."[2] Another letter tells how Asad has not yet obtained the Emperor's pardon. "We shall not be mistaken in one concerning Asad Khan, the grand Wazir, who by reason of his son's failure in the conquest of Gingee and the unkind usage of Prince Kam Baksh was

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[1] Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V. p. 93. Letter No. 33 of 1694 from Fort St. George says that Asad Khan had been restored to the king's favour. *Letters from Fort St. George* 1693, pp. 27–28.

[2] *Letters from Fort St. George* 1693, p. 33.

recalled by the Mughals many months ago, but not yet admitted into the king's presence."[1]

Having organized his line of communication and ensured the regularity of his food supply, Zulfikar Khan resolved to secure all the contingents that could be supplied by the chiefs of the country and to concentrate the accumulated forces on an onslaught on Gingee. The Khan was able to obtain the friendship of Yachama Nayak who occupied the fort of Satgarh, near Vellore, by securing for him a mansab of a *haft hazari* and a *jaghir* of 3 lakhs of *hun* in the Karnatak.[2] Then the Mughal general started from Wandiwash in February 1694 on an expedition to the south. Perumukkal, a fort near Tindivanam, was captured, and afterwards the imperial army marched to Tanjore, conquering several forts on the way. A Fort St. George Letter refers to Zulfikar's visit to Fort St. David. "With the approach of Zulfikar Khan's army to Tanjore from Gingee, their near approach to the bounds of Fort St David gave them cause to stand upon their guard. The Governor and Council of Fort St. David sent Messrs. Haynes and Montague to compliment Zulfikar Khan with a present which cost 600 to 700 *pagodas* to him and officers. They were received courteously by the Nawab who gave a

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[1] Ibid, p. 57.

[2] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book* 1694, Feb.

farman to free them from the trouble by his army."[1]

The Maratha ruler of Tanjore was Shahji, the son of Vyankaji, who found resistance to the Mughal general futile because his traditional enemy, the Nayak of Trichinopoly, had gone over to the side of the Imperialists and actively assisted them in their invasion of Tanjore. Rajaram, remembering the help rendered by Shahji in his hour of trial a few years before, now sent troops to assist him,[2] but the formidable Mughal army proved more than a match for the combined Maratha armies. The result was that Shahji was forced to sign a treaty by which he agreed to refrain from assisting Rajaram, to pay a tribute of 30 lakhs of rupees annually, and cede the forts of Palamkota, Sittamur, Tunganur, Kil-Mannargudi, Shrimushnam, Tittagudi, Tirunamanallur, Elavanasore, Kallakkurichi, Pandalum etc., to the Mughals.[3] These forts which really belonged

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[1] *Letters from Fort St. George*, 1694, pp. 27–28. Another letter refers to the great havoc caused by the Mughal army which disturbed the Company's activities. Ibid, p. 44.

[2] The *Jedhe Chronology* says that Rajaram sent Bahirji Ghorpade with an army to help Shahji. *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 35.

[3] Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 98. The *Jedhe Chronology* says that Zulfikar Khan concluded peace with Shahji on the payment of 40 lakhs of Chakrai (round coins). *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 37.

•All the places are in the South Arcot District. Sarkar's note requires modification in places.

to Rajaram had been mortgaged to the Tanjore king for his help. Rajaram contrived to save Palamkota from Mughal occupation for a time, but in the end the Marathas had to evacuate the place. The Mughal army returned to Wandiwash[1] in great glee after this victorious expedition.

After consolidating his position, Zulfikar began the siege operation of Gingee towards the close of 1694. The strange conduct of Zulfikar at that time towards the Maratha ruler led to many suspecting him of disloyalty and even treachery to the Emperor; some treasonable negotiations between him and the besieged Rajaram came to the knowledge of the Imperial camp. Yachama Nayak, who had helped Zulfikar consistently, wrote a secret letter to the Emperor complaining about the questionable conduct of Zulfikar for which act the latter had him beheaded.[2] That Zulfikar was not wholly loyal to the Emperor and that he unnecessarily

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[1] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1694, p. 68.

[2] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book* 1694. p. 99. "...advice received from Zulfikar Khan's camp, that Arasama Nayak (Yachama Nayak) had been seized and put in irons and that the siege of Gingee had been renewed." Another letter on p. 102 from Zulfikar Khan confirmed the report of the capture of Arasama Nayak (Yachama Nayak) and added that he and his family had been slain by his order. The *Jadhe Chronology* affirms this. *Shivaji Souvenir*: p. 37. See Srinivasachari—*History of Gingee and its Rulers* p. 315 footnote for an account of Yachama Nayak.

prolonged the operations round Gingee, which task if given to Yachama, would have been finished in eight days not to speak of years, are made clear from the *Memoires* of François Martin, who reveals an understanding between Rajaram and Zulfikar because of the impending death of the old Emperor. In this contingency Zulfikar wanted to carve out for himself an independent principality.[1] The Fort St. George letter of 5th November 1696 bears clear testimony to the treacherous dealings of Zulfikar with Rajaram: "Zulfikar Khan has been frequently ordered to take Gingee, and it has been in his power to do so and destroy all the Marathas in the country. But instead of that it appears plain that he hath joined council with

[1] "All this mutual understanding between the two parties (*viz.* Rajaram and Zulfikar) was the result of a secret understanding which they had formed between themselves. In view of the expected death of the aged Emperor and the inevitable war of succession among his sons, Asad Khan and Zulfikar Khan planned to establish themselves as independent sovereigns in that country with Maratha help. They had in view the union of the Kingdom of Golkonda and the Karnatak [under their own sceptre) while Ramaraja was to get [illegible]s his share, the kingdom of Bijapur............That Prince, in order to recall to his side his army commanders (who had left him in disgust) apparently disclosed to them his reasons for having acted in that manner (towards the hard-pressed Mughal generals); presents were joined to it; he visited Santaji Ghorpade. Thus the complaints and murmurs ceased in part, but their spirit still remained ulcerated,"

(Sir Jadunath Sarkar: *House of Shivaji*, pp. 219-20).

them."[1] Even Bhimsen suspected Zulfikar's conduct and wrote that if he had been serious in the operations he might have taken Gingee expeditiously.[2]

A study of the Mughal general's movements convinces one that he was not seriously preoccupied with the operations against Gingee. He marched out of Wandiwash in October 1694 and encamped north of Changam fort, and exposed his army and camp to the incursions of the Marathas.[3] Such conduct naturally irritated the subordinates of Zulfikar, who, it was rumoured, plotted to seize him and send him in chains to Aurangzib. The *Madras Diary* of 1694 mentions that Zulfikar sent to Rajaram 10 camels laden with rupees which were intercepted by Daud Khan.[4] As a result of these transactions numerous desertions took place from his side; and Sarafraz Khan, one of the chief officers, left for Delhi without even asking for his general's permission. Nothing tangible was done by the Mughal army during the year

[1] *Letters from Fort St. George* 1696, p. 134.

[2] Sarkar; *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 101. Manucci also has the same opinion to offer. *Storia do Mogor:* Vol. III, p. 271.

[3] *Madras Diary and Consultation Boook* 1694, pp. 127–28.

[4] Ibid, p. 127.

1695 except the siege of Vellore which defended itself for many months. But the news of the arrival of fresh Maratha troops under the leadership of Santaji and Dhanaji Jadav filled the Imperialists with consternation and they prepared to seek places of safety.[1] The stationing of such a large body round about the Gingee country disturbed the Governor of Fort St. David, Hatsell, who strove to secure the safety of the English settlement from molestation by the Maratha cavalrymen, by befriending Rajaram and satisfying his demands.[2]

Zulfikar Khan was forced to raise the siege of Vellore on account of the arrival of Dhanaji[3] and gathered his scattered forces against a possible attack. Owing to lack of money the Mughal army suffered much, and Zulfikar went

[1] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book* 1695, p. 161 informs the English at Madras that 12,000 Maratha horsemen had come to Gingee. Another letter on page 161 says that Dhanaji had arrived at Gingee with 6000 horsemen.

[2] "The Marathas increasing at Gingee and frequently sending raiding parties into several parts of the country near Tenapatam (Fort St. David) was found necessary that Hatsell should accommodate the demands of Rajaram and his officers as circumstances required. There ought to be a fair correspondence with the Marathas during the present uncertain state of things between them and the Mughals, the former appearing to be very powerful in the country unless the Mughal Emperor shall speedily send a considerable army to the help of Zulfikar Khan." *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*. 1696, p. 9.

[3] The *Jedhe Chronology, Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 37.

to the extent of begging the English merchants to grant him a loan of one lakh of *hun* for which he promised to mortgage any piece of territory under him.[1] Against the forces of Santaji, Zulfikar won a victory at Arcot; but when the Maratha general heard that reinforcements had come from the Emperor to Kadapa he marched to intercept them. But the Mughal general followed Santaji, and after a vain attempt to drive him beyond the Tungabhadra, returned to his camp at Arcot in December 1696. Financial embarrassment compelled Zulfikar to undertake another expedition to Tanjore and other places, after which he returned to Wandiwash by way of Tirukkoilur and Tiruvannamalai. Fortune now began to favour Zulfikar as a result of the quarrel for the commander-in-chief's post between Santaji and Dhanaji, and owing to the division of the Maratha nobility into two hostile camps on this matter, the unity and cohesion of the Maratha military machine deteriorated. Rajaram was now in a very critical situation. Lacking money, he thought of negotiating peace with the Mughals. For this purpose, he sent his son Karna to negotiate with Zulfikar Khan.[2] But Aurangzib

Fall of Gingee January 1698

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[1] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1696, March 3.

[2] The *Jedhe Chronology* put this to have taken place on 2nd August 1697. *Shivaji Souvenir*, p. 38.

was firm in his resolve (made clear to Zulfikar) that he would consent to nothing but a complete capitulation of Gingee[1] and exhorted Zulfikar Khan to carry on the siege with renewed vigour. When the Marathas learnt that Zulfikar could no longer pretend to besiege the fort, but was really serious, Rajaram escaped to Vellore with his chief officers, leaving his family behind himself. With great care and under organized effort, the Mughals succeeded in reducing all the citadels of the fort, and obtained much booty. The women and children of the Maratha court were saved from violence and kept in safe custody. But many Marathas fearing the violence of the Mughals left their homes and ran away.[2]

The time taken to reduce the fort was inordinately long. Jonathan Scott seems to be correct when he says that "the total ruin of Maharashtra power might have been effected with ease many years before, had it not been for the generals who delayed on purpose and secretly assisted each other to draw out the war to a never ending length for their own

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[1] "The spy Brahman from the camp advised that the Nawab hath sent Rajaram's son to Gingee, and hath sent him word that the Mughal doth not approve of his proposals and hath ordered him to take Gingee in a few days." *Madras Diary and Consultation Book* 1697, p, 128.

[2] P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar in the *Journal of Oriental Research*, 1929, pp. 34-35.

advantage."[1] From Wilks we understand that in order to camouflage their apathy for the siege operations the Mughal generals reported to the Emperor false news. "To preserve appearances it was necessary to report to the Emperor frequent attacks and repulses. Daud Khan, the second in command of the Mughal army, drank largely of the best European liquors and would perpetually volunteer the extirpation of the infidels. Zulfikar necessarily assented to these enterprises, but always gave secret intelligence to the enemy of the time and place of attack."[2] Khafi Khan suspected that Zulfikar obtained the fort of Gingee only by bribing Rajaram[3] and enabling him to escape unmolested. Perhaps the Mughal general might have agreed to launch the final attack only after Rajaram should have left the place.[4] Sarkar remarks that the entire work of the Mughal Emperor's long siege of Gingee was undone as the bird had flown away.[5]

For seven long years Zulfikar Khan had continued his siege of Gingee, and when he took

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[1] Scott: *Ferishta's History of the Deccan*, Vol. II, p. 97.

[2] Wilks: *History of South India and Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 133.

[3] Elliot and Dawson: *History of India*, Vol. VII, pp. 348–49.

[4] *Letters from Fort St. George* 1698, p. 29.

[5] Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 109.

the fort actually, failed to obtain Rajaram whose capture was the object of the expedition. Zulfikar's inability to exercise any control over his subordinates, the lack of unity among them, the difficulties in obtaining food supplies, and the frequent havoc caused to the army, men and camp by the plundering expeditions of the Marathás were mainly responsible for the prolongation of the Mughal operations against Gingee. But it must not be forgotten that the deterioration that had come upon the Mughal army considerably diminished its fighting qualities and thereby prevented the quick realization of success against the enemy. In 1693 the situation became so very hopeless for the Imperialists that Asad Khan entreated Rajaram to allow his army to escape to Wandiwash, and the years 1693–95 formed a most desperate epoch for their fortunes. Not only was supply of food successfully prevented, but the redoubted generals of Maharashtra, Santaji and Dhanaji, shattered to pieces the Mughal army and destroyed their camps. It may be doubted whether Zulfikar would have continued the siege of Gingee when Rajaram sent his son Karna to negotiate peace terms, had not Aurangzib insisted that he must get the fort somehow or other. Such was the difficulty experienced by the Mughal army due to its reduced efficiency and also because of the rupture among the generals.

In all probability Zulfikar Khan must have effected his entry into Gingee in the first week of January 1698. A letter to the Agent and Council dated 26th February 1698 stated that "in the last month, *i.e.*, January, Zulfikar Khan took Gingee (Rajaram having escaped to Vellore fort where he remains) and appointing Gussafar Khan, Killedar of Gingee, gave him Cuddalore and Tegnapatam as part of his jaghir."[1] The earliest date given by Chitnis for the capture of Gingee as 23rd March 1696 is absurd and incorrect. The *Maāsir-i-Ālamgiri* says that, Gingee was captured on 6th Shaban, 41st year of Aurangzib = (7th February 1698).[2] According to Bhimsen the fort fell on a Sankaranthi day. "The manuscript gives the 2nd day of Thai for the capture of the fort. The first of Thai is generally celebrated in South India as Sankaranthi. Bhimsen's reference to Sankaranthi is not probably the monthly entry of the sun into the Zodiac, but the special Sankaranthi which comes about the middle of January. In that year it was perhaps on the 30th of December. On the 31st also Pongal continued and Bhimsen might have heard of it."[3] Ferishta

[1] *Letters from Fort St. George* 1698, pp. 29.

[2] Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V p. 108 Note.

[3] *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. IX, 1930, pp. 4–5; also Srinivasachari: *History of Gingee and its Rulers* pp. 342–6.

gives the date 1700 A.D. (A.H. 1112) for the capture of Gingee which is obviously an error.[1] The *Mackenzie Mss.* give the Fasli 1107, *Isvara*, in the month of Thai (2nd day) which is equivalent to Saturday 31st December 1697. The impregnable nature of the fort defied its capture in one day, and its subsections were captured one after another before the main fort fell. A letter from Fort St. George of 28th December 1697 says, "that Zulfikar Khan had set up his flag on one of the hills of Gingee and made a show of taking the place."[2] By January 2nd, the Mughal general had taken all the forts except one which also showed signs of decay.[3] By 5th January, Zulfikar Khan was in full possession of the fort and the entry for January 1698 says "that Zulfikar Khan had taken Gingee and become absolute master of the country" and it warned Fort St. David authorities to be "very careful and be prepared for an attack."[4] A letter of 17th January states that the Nawab received gladly the presents sent to him by the English as a token of congratulating him on his success.[5] On these grounds we may hold that Gingee capitulated to Zulfikar Khan during the

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[1] Scott: *Ferishta's History of the Deccan* Vol. II.
[2] *Letters from Fort St. George*, 1697, p. 34.
[3] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1698, p, 152.
[4] *Letters from Fort St. George*, 1698, p. 6.
[5] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1698. p. 4.

first few days in the month of January 1698. That the final assault was launched by Zulfikar Khan on Thursday, the 30th December 1697 and that he allowed Rajaram to escape to Vellore is seen from the following letter from Fort St. David: "Having had certain advices yesterday that Zulfikar Cawn took Ghingie on Thursday the 30th past, and this day are informed by a Maratha (who delivered battle to Gunnagoe Raja and was taken prisoner by Dawd Cawn but made his escape (hither) that his master Gunnagee Raja and Amborow are prisoners to Dawd Cawn, with many others of less note, they being upon one of the hills surrendered themselves upon discretion, the Rajaram with his legitimate son Managee Morra and some others to the number of about 20 made their escape out of Chingie on Monday the 26th instant at night, and the report is that they got safe to Velore, it is believed the Nabob ordered Rama Raja to go away." [1]

Fort St. David Consultations, 1698, p. 1.

CHAPTER V

THE HEYDAY OF THE TANJORE PRINCIPALITY

I. Raja Shahji A.D. 1684-1712

Of all the Maratha rulers that sat upon the Tanjore throne, Shahji who ascended the *mus-nud* in 1684[1] is unquestionably the ablest and most distinguished. Nature had endowed him with a marvellous memory, a penetrating intellect, and he was very learned and accomplished. A lover of the fine arts, a cultured scholar, he was equally at home in music and poetry. His rule witnessed the highwater mark of literary excellence, and great writers flourished in his court. The encouragement given to men of letters was made possible because of the peace which the kingdom enjoyed. Whereas all round there was fighting, when Rajaram was besieged in Gingee by Zulfikar Khan, Tanjore was left to pursue its normal activities undisturbed. Shaḥji's court was adorned by a noble band of forty-six scholars, the most conspicuous among them

Maratha Rule in Carnatic

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[1] An inscription in Pattukottai dated Saka 1606 mentions that Shahji was Maharaja.: *M.E.R.* 1925, p. 25.

being Ramabhadra Dikshitar. The galaxy of celebrities devoted themselves to the production of works in Sanskrit, Tamil and Telugu languages.[1]

Shahji was shrewd enough to adjust his relationship according to the circumstances which faced him. With the coming of Rajaram to Gingee in 1690, the attention of Emperor Aurangzib was directed towards the reduction of the south. For eight long years the impregnable Gingee defied the attacks of Zulfikar Khan; and during these years the sister-principality of Tanjore under Shahji did its utmost to help the besieged Rajaram. Robert Orme describes the help given by Shahji to Rajaram[2] which is also corroborated by Ayya Avāḷ's *Sahendra Vilasa Kavya*.[3] The Madras Diary for 1690 records that "Eccogee sent horsemen and money to Ramaraja who hoped to rout the Moghul."[4] Further in 1693 Rajaram came from Tanjore to Gingee with an army of 20,000 horse[5], possibly provided by Shahji. But Tanjore did not escape the depredations of the

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[1] See chapter on Administration. (Chapter X).

[2] Orme: *Historical Fragments*, p. 300.

[3] T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 33, p. 187.

Dharmakuta, a commentary on the *Ramayana*, also speaks about this.

[4] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1690, p. 72.

[5] Ibid, 1693, p. 74.

Mughals and in 1691 Zulfikar Khan forced on it a military contribution of four lakhs of rupees a year. As the tribute was not properly paid, the Mughal captains had to go to Tanjore frequently to ensure the regular payment of the tribute.[1] In 1694 an increased demand was made and Shahji had to give it. "Zulfikar Cawn has made an agreement with the Eccogee (Shahji) that he will not meddle with Tanjore nor no part of his country, Eccogee paying him twenty lacks of rupees and maintaining one thousand horse and one thousand foot in Zulfikar Cawns service while he stays in these parts, upon which agreement Eccogee paid 17 lacks and offers to pay the rest when the Nabob carries his army over the river."[2]

Shahji's relation with the neighbouring states.

The rulers of Tanjore, Ramnad and Mysore carved out for themselves slices of territories from the weakened Madura kingdom, with the result that continuous struggle raged among them. Zulfikar Khan did not stop with the siege of Gingee, but invaded in March 1694 the kingdom of Tanjore, whose Raja Shahji agreeed to pay tribute and cede many forts.[3] Mangammal the regent of the minor Madura Nayak, was

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[1] *Letters from Fort St. George*, 1693, 1698 and 1700-1, pp. 88, 75 and 6. respectively.

[2] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book* 1694. p. 68.

[3] Sarkar: *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 98.

prudent enough to accept the protection of the Mughals, and to get back the territories lost to Tanjore, through the intervention of Zulfikar Khan.[1] Shahji would not allow Mangammal to enjoy securely the strip of territory which she thus regained from him. The aggressive activity of Shahji enabled him to capture some of the redoubtable towns belonging to Madura, with the help of Kilavan Setupati of Ramnad. Mangammal was at last constrained to declare war against Tanjore in 1700. The pretext for the war was a dispute between the rivals "about the lands near Tirukattupalli, six miles from Koviladi, the possession of which was extremely important to Tanjore as the irregation of the Tanjore district by the Kaveri and its branches is practically controlled at this place, which contains the Grand Anaikkat,"[2] Mangammal entrusted the command of her army to Dalavai Narasappaiya who posted himself on the Northern side of the Coloroon in order to prevent the depredations of the Tanjore army in that part of the country, Realizing that he would not be able to check the destructive work of the superior cavalry of Tanjore, he wanted to cross over to the southern bank of the river wherefrom he could effectively paralyse the activities' of the

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[1] Manucci: *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. III, p. 411.

[2] S. Radhakrishna Iyer: *A General History of the Pudukkottai State*, p. 147.

enemy from a vantage point. He succeeded in his attempt and endangered the safety of Tanjore itself, while the Tanjore army, neglecting the defence of the capital, was busy in stemming the advancing enemy even at the head of the delta. But large numbers of their troops perished in the attempt to cross the flooded river. They were decisively routed by the Madura Dalavay who devastated the entire kingdom. The success which attended the Madura army enraged Shahji, who blamed his chief minister Baloji (or Vagoji) whom he deemed to be the person primarily responsible for the disaster. The minister defended himself by declaring that he would bring about an honourable peace with the enemy, and promised to lay down his life in case he failed. Indeed, he succeded in buying off the Madura Dalavay with a large sum. Thus did Baloji rehabilitate his lost reputation which destroyed the machinations of his enemies.[1]

Mysore.

Chikkadeva Raya, the Mysore king, acquired by 1690 the major part of the Baramahal and Salem up to the Kaveri; and in 1694 added the larger part of Bednore. He then turned his attention to Madura whose weakness encouraged his hopes of success. His incursions extended across the present Coimbatore district; an inscription at Avanasi of 1695–6 records the

[1] Lockman: *Travels of the Jesuits*, Vol. II, pp. 286-87.

grant made by his minister to the local shrine.[1] He then sent his general, Dalavay Kumaraiya to lay siege to Trichinopoly who vowed not to return to Mysore without capturing that city. But the expected arrival of the Maratha army into the Mysore territory led to his rapid recall, and this relieved Trichinopoly from immediate danger. Wilks says that the garrison drove out the Mysore army from the district.[2]

The Mysore ruler was alarmed at the new alliance effected between the kingdoms of Madura and Tanjore, and with a view to take vengeance on them, constructed a big dam across the Cauvery with the object of diverting all the waters of the river into his kingdom, and thereby exposing the districts of Tanjore, and Trichinopoly to the ravages of drought and famine. Tanjore and Madura now massed their troops for an invasion of Mysore. But before they could undertake the expedition, the great dam across the Cauvery gave way owing to torrential rains, and the Madura and Tanjore armies were saved from a campaign of distress and despair.[3]

Kilavan Setupati of Ramnad (1671-1710) defeated the Madura army and worked vigor-

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[1] Rangacharya : *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I, pp. 523.

[2] Wilks : *History of Mysore*, Vol. V, pp. 58-60.

[3] Lockman : *Travels of the Jesuits*, Vol. II pp. 301.

ously to achieve his independence. In his great attempt he was helped by Shahji to whom he granted as reward the territory round Pattukkottai. Kilavan became so very powerful that he laid siege to Madura in 1698 itself and was in possession of it for two years, when Narasappaiya, the Madura Dalavay, drove him out. And when circumstances were very favourable, Kilavan realized his long-cherished ambition, namely independence, which he obtained by 1700.[1] In the war which Shahji fought with Madura in 1700, Kilavan stood by his side and with his help Tanjore conquered many of the towns of Madura.

Ramnad.

It was the ardent desire of the Madura queen Mangammal, to teach a lesson to Kilavan Setupati, check his audacious interference with the affairs of Madura and prevent him from giving help to the Tanjore king. After the conclusion of the pact with Shahji in 1700, she turned her attention towards Ramnad. Reinforced by the Tanjore forces, the Madura Dalavay Narasappaiya undertook an expedition into the Marava country with a strong army in 1702. The Setupati massed his redoubtable Marava fighters who had mastered the technique of predatory warfare, and with an army consisting of thirty to forty thousand men, charged the

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[1] *Ibid* ,Vol. I, p. 453.

enemy with a resolute heart. The Madura army was shattered to pieces. Nor was Tanjore spared by the Setupati who greatly resented his betrayal by Shahji when the latter joined hands with Madura. He inflicted a severe defeat on the Tanjore forces which were sent against him in 1709. The result was that Shahji had to sue for peace;[1] and the capture of the fort of Arantangi from Tanjore terminated the war.[2]

The early training which Shahji received enabled him to carry on the administration of the country with efficiency. From the *Sahendra Vilasa Kavya* we understand that Vyankaji had his son crowned even during his life time[3] and appointed as his minister, Tryambaka Raya Makhi, the author of *Dharmakuta*. His intellectual attainments enabled him to carry on the government with very little friction; and he was assisted by his father's trustworthy advisers. As a result of this the whole country prospered and the attachment of the people to the king increased. Shahji added to the palace, erected a beautiful throne-room, built choultries and chatrams at the capital for the shelter of the poor, constructed hospitals for the sick and employed therein renowned physicians from

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[1] Bertrand: *La Mission du Madure* IV. pp. 200-201.

[2] Ibid, p. 228.

[3] T.S. Kuppuswamy Sastri in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 187.

Hyderabad and Arabia. He also established civil and criminal courts.[1] The testimony which the Commission of 1799 records illustrates the great pains which the king took to preserve good government. "Shahji, the son and immediate successor to the usurper Ekoji, is said to have held his power complete during a reign of 28 or 30 years, and at the same time, the inhabitants were in perfect obedience and paid a very large proportion of the produce to the Sirkar. Sarabhoji and Tukkoji succeeded their brother Shahji, and benefited by the good order he had established, without appearing to have contributed anything to the power or advantage of the musnud."

The kings of Tanjore were usually tolerant and liberal in their attitude towards others religions, and the Christian missionaries were allowed to carry on their work without molestation. They enjoyed the confidence of the rulers and no harm was done to them.

Persecution of Christians.

But Manucci definitely says that Shahji ill-treated the Christians, levied a poll-tax on them and subjected them to grave hardships. The Hindus, Manucci continues, roused the anger of their brethren, as a result of which the Christians in Tanjore, Pondicherry and in the neighbouring places were persecuted. Their churches were pulled down,

[1] Hickey: *The Tanjore Maratha Principality* p. 85.

and many were imprisoned.[1] Owing to the representations made by the missionaries, Nawab Daud Khan, the Faujdar of the Carnatic, wrote a letter to the Tanjore king condemning his attitude and asking him to stop the persecution. On account of this intercession, Shahji had to stop his vindictive attitude towards the missionaries and to release those who were imprisoned and allow them to freely follow their religion.[2] We should understand that this ill-treatment of the Christians was resorted to, because some created communal discord among the Hindus and deluded the ignorant by their dress and manners and by the fact that they called themselves as Roman Brahmans.[3] Moreover some of them spoke contemptuously of the gods of the Hindus, and this naturally hurt the feelings of the latter.

II. **Raja Sarabhoji I A.D. (1712-1728).**

Shahji died in his fortieth year (1712) childless and therefore his brother Sarabhoji, the governor of the Subah of Sakkotai became the ruler, conjointly with his brother Tukkoji. The glorious cultural tradition handed down by Shahji was carried on by the brothers who gave sufficient encouragement to men of learning.

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[1] Manucci: *Storia do Mogor Vol.* III, pp. 327-332.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 360.

[3] Hickey: *The Tanjore Maratha Principality.*

His Dharmatikari, Aiyavayyan seems to have given to Brahmans agraharams like Mangamatam in Tiruvenkadu, and Sarabhojirajapuram in Tirukkadaiyur. This minister came to exercise much power in the Tanjore kingdom but was imprisoned later on by the orders of the king.[1] There is a manuscript in the Mackenzie Collection which speaks about an Ayyavayyan of Kaveripatnam who utilized the wealth which he obtained as a treasure for the repairs of the temple at Tiruvenkadu and also for enriching the coffers of the State. It seems that the king in order to appropriate this treasure appointed him to a high office in the state.[2]

The most important officers of the kingdom were Ananda Rao Peshwa the Dalavay and Rago Pandit the Dewan.[3] Ananda Rao was a

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[1] Rangacharya: *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency Vol. II.* Tanjore District.

[2] K.R. Subramanyan: *Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*, p. 38, Note.

[3] *The Mackenzie Mss.*

The author further says that in the time of Amar Singh efforts were made to dig out some of the hidden treasures by royal officers who heard the above story.

About this Aiyavayyan there are also other references. A stone inscription in the Sembanarkoil temple, dated Kali 4821, Sārvari in the reign of Sarabhoji I, mentions his name in connection with a protective duty. 175 of 1925.

Ananda Ranga Pillai also mentions one Aiya as the *protēgē* of Raugoji Pandit, an officer of the King's household.

[4] *M.E.R.* 1913, p. 130. & 1911. p. 93.

good general and the victor of many battles. He was also a great patron of learning and some works are attributed to his authorship. The king was also an able soldier for according to the Sanskrit manuscript, *Sarabhoji Chārita*, he is credited with having routed those that came to break the Kaveri dam which was the chief factor for the prosperity of the Tanjore kingdom. Sarabhoji was charitably disposed, constructed many choultries, and made numerous grants to Brahmans.

Relations with Ramnad.

On his death-bed Vijaya Raghunatha of Ramnad appointed his sister's son Tandai Tevar to be his successor. The accession of this new Setupati was severely contested by Bhavani Sankara, an illegitimate son of Kilavan Setupati, who was prevented in 1710 from succeeding Kilavan because of his low origin. Bhavani now felt that the time was most propitious to advance his claims, and his marriage with the daughter of the chief mistress of Raghunatha strengthened his position. Moreover, Tandai Tevar was not liked by his relatives who came to the conclusion that he was not fitted to rule.[1] As a result of this, Bhavani Sankara was able to obtain the help of the Marava chiefs and had himself crowned as the Setupati. Tandai

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[1] Taylor: *Oriental Historical Mss.*, Vol. II. A.P. pp. 51.

Tevar was not prepared to allow his rival to rule in peace, and he requested the Nayak of Madura and the Tondaiman to come to his succour. He promised to cede to the latter in return for his services the districts dependent on Kiranelli and Tirumayyam. "He obtained the required assistance within a few days and proceeded to closely besiege his rival in Arundangi; and the latter feeling that he was unable to cope with the forces against him, gave up the contest for a time and fled to Tanjore.[1]

At Tanjore, Bhavani Sankara proposed to Sarabhoji to cede lands north of the Pambar in case he was to be helped by the Tanjore army to regain his throne. The offer was very tempting, and the Tanjore Dalavay, Ananda Rao Peshwa, proceeded with an army to his help.[2] Meanwhile, Tandai Tevar solicited the help of the Madura Nayak and the Tondaiman once again, and got their combined support. Trained soldier as he was, Ananda Rao first fell upon the Madura forces and routed them and later on, subjected the Tondaiman's army to a like fate. In the attack he was able to capture two of the Tondaiman's sons. Afterwards he marched against Ramnad itself and laid siege to it. The Tanjore troops effected an entry into the fort by mining under the walls, seized the un-

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1 Nelson: *The Madura Manual*, Pt. III, p. 248.

2 *M.E.R.* 1913, p. 130.

happy Setupati and some of his supporters and executed them.[1]

The successes of the Tanjore army in Ramnad obtained for Bhavani Sankara the throne, and as Setupati he ruled for nine years (A.D. 1720-1729). But he did not cede to Tanjore the lands north of the Pambar, according to the agreement previously arranged. Bhavani soon made himself very unpopular, while his arrogance and lack of statesmanlike qualities quickly earned for him the odium of the entire population. He foolishly quarrelled with his poligars and drove out one Sasivarna Periya Udaya Tevar, the most powerful of them all. The latter fled to Tanjore and with the help of Katta Tevar, the uncle of Tandai Tevar, intrigued to overthrow Bhavani Sankara. The wonderful skill in arms which Sasivarna displayed and the prodigious feats of strength which he exhibited when he killed a tiger single handed[2] won for him the admiration of the Tanjore ruler. Having thus impressed the king, Sasivarna along with his companion in distress, pleaded with Sarabhoji to send his army to help them in their adventure, for which the promised to give lands south of the Pambar. Accordingly a Tanjore army again marched into Ramnad and gave battle to the forces of Bhavani Sankara. At

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[1] Nelson: *The Madura Manual*, Pt. III, p. 249.

[2] Nelson: *Madura Manual* Pt. III, p. 249.

Uraiyur, the Setupati was defeated, captured and thrown into prison where he died shortly afterwards. "With the tragic end of Bhavani Sankara, the history of united Ramnad ended."[1] After ceding to Tanjore the promised territory, the rest of the kingdom was divided into five parts, three of which were given to Katta Tevan while the remaining two came to the possession of Sasivarna Tevar who became the faujdar of the Sivaganga principality. Tanjore was thus mainly instrumental for the disruption of the kingdom of Ramnad and also for the creation of the new fief of Sivaganga.

Sarabhoji married wives taken from the Satara familes of Gatke, Shirke and Mohite.

Question of succession.

He had no child and tradition relates how one of his queens named Apampa Bai, fearing that the throne would go to the sons of Tukoji, pretended pregnancy and foisted upon her husband, as his own offspring, a stranger boy who was known subsequently as Savai Shahji. Her plan was however miscarried, and Sarabhoji ordered her to get rid of the bogus son. Many years afterwards upon the death of Bava Sahib, Koyagi Ghangte set up another pretender alleging that he was the legitimate son of Sarabhoji. In fact this son was born to a slave woman, Kuppi or Rupi by name, and was called

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[1] Rangacharya: *The Indian Antiquary Vol. XLVI.* 1917, p. 213.

the Kattu Raja, because he had sought protection in the Udayarpalayam jungle before ascending the throne.[1] On the death of Sarabhoji in 1728, his brother Tukkoji succeeded the throne.

III. Raja Tukkoji A.D. 1728-1746.

Vyankaji's last son Tukkoji now ascended the throne (1728) and reigned for eight years.[2] Like his brother he was also a gifted monarch and his great taste for music led him to write a work on it called *Sanghita Saramaita*, which brings out his talent in that direction. The best known literary figure of this reign was his minister for the household, Ghanasyama Pandita who wrote a commentary on Bhavabhuti's *Uttara Ramacharita*.[3] He seems to have written sixty-four works while his wives Sundari Bai and Kamala composed a commentary on a Sanskrit drama.[4] Another writer of repute in this period was one Manambhatta.[5] Tukkoji was also a warrior prince and successfully interfered in the internal affairs of

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[1] Venkasami Rao: *The Tanjore Manual*, p. 776, Note.

[2] The *Tanjore Marathi Inscription* gives eight years to the reign of Tukkoji while the *Mackenzie Ms.* reduces it to two years.

[3] A *Trien Cat. of Mss*, Vol. II. Pt. I, c (Skt.).

[4] K.R. Subramanyan: *Maratha Rajas of Tanjore* p. 41.

[5] *M.E.R.* 1899.

Ramnad, Pudukottai and Madura. In spite of his help to Rani Minakshi of Madura with men and money, Chanda Sahib, the powerful son-in-law of Dost Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic, established himself in power in 1736 in Madura and Trichinopoly after effecting the fall and destruction of the unhappy queen. The disappearance of the Madura kingdom naturally weakened Tanjore, and from 1736 onwards we witness the active interference of the Muhammadans in its internal politics. The weak successors of Tukkoji were not able to maintain their authority while the various claims made to the throne by the several illegitimate scions of the ruling family worsened the confusion.

Relations of Ramnad.

Katta Tevar succeeded to the throne in 1729 and very soon an invasion from Tanjore took place. Nelson states that the Setupati along with the Sivaganga chief invaded Tanjore with the object of recovering the provinces which had been annexed by the Raja as the price of his intervention on their behalf in 1729.[1] But according to the Jesuit letter, Tanjore was the aggressor. The letter of 1732 from Calapalayam dated 13th August 1733 by Joseph Vieyra states: "...........as soon as the king of Tanjore had got rid of the Moghals, he turned his arms against the Maravas. Having gathered an army,

[1] Nelson: *The Madura Manual*, Pt. III, p. 292.

he marched against king Katta Tevar whom he had helped three years previously to place on the throne of Ramnad. He pretended to re-establish now on the throne Bhavani Sankara whom he had dethroned three years before. In reality he wanted to secure for his son the crown of the Marava and conquer the whole country, one-third of which already paid homage to him." Therefore it is evident that there is no point in accusing the Setupati for a "disgraceful breach of faith".

Katta Tever had neither soldiers nor arms to defend himself, but was asked not to submit to the invader by a tributary chief of Tanjore, by name Pandaram. And therefore the Setupati retired to the fortress of Ramnad which was besieged by Tanjore troops. The surrounding region was subjected to indescribable cruelty by the enemy's soldiers who killed the people and burnt their property. The Tanjoreans were faced with the guns of the Maravas which worked havoc in their ranks. Fearing the consequences of a failure in battle, the Tanjore army procastinated the siege operations. And as the seige lingered on, it was suspected that the tributary Pandaram had betrayed his master, and therefore the Tanjore king ordered his execution, after which his corpse was dragged along the principal streets. Never was a crime more brutally perpetrated,

and the auxiliary troops of the Tanjore force resenting this action deserted and flocked to the banners of the son of the late Pandaram who raised a revolt. These soldiers very soon engaged themselves in blockading up all routes through which food and arms could reach the Tanjore army. In fact the Tanjorean was reduced to such straights that he thought it fit to abandon the siege and take to flight. Had it not been for the magnanimity of Katta Tevar, who allowed their retreat, the whole Tanjore army would have capitulated.

During the civil war at Trichinopoly, the Raja of Tanjore had helped Minakshi the Madura Queen, with money and troops under Ananda Rao, in consideration whereof the queen allowed Tukkoji to enjoy till the debt should be repaid, the revenues of Tirukattuppalli taluk lying between the Cauveri and the Coleroon. Not content with this, Tukkoji in order to appropriate Trichinopoly for himself induced the Rani to go to Madura for her coronation, hoping that her absence would greatly facilitate his *coup d'etat*. But when this plan failed, he proposed to the Rani the necessity for undertaking a joint military expedition against the Tondaiman in order to punish him for the assistance which he rendered to her rival claimant in the late civil war. Minakshi was taken in

Relations with the Tondaiman. 1734.

by this ruse and consented. Accordingly the Tanjore general Ananda Rao, commanding the combined troops of Madura and Tanjore, advanced into the Pudukottai territory and was able to occupy it without any serious fight. Only one fortress remained uncaptured. While Ananda Rao was besieging Tirumayyam, the soldiers of Ramnad came to the assistance of the Tondaiman. Though they lacked a sufficient proportion of cavalry troops still they effected a lot of havoc on the Tanjore army by harrassing its march and cutting off its supplies. Meanwhile, the Madura Rani realized the trick played on her by Tukkoji and ordered her troops to withdraw. This event did not discourage old Ananda Rao who went on with the siege, " until at last all his efforts to capture the fortress having proved vain, he was obliged to raise the siege and hurriedly lead back his mutilated army to meet another more serious enemy and pay the just penalty for his long career of past misdeeds."[1]

Unable to bear the depredations which Tanjore committed time and again on the territories of the Tondaiman and of the Setupati, they appealed to the Mughal ruler of the Carnatic and to the Madura queen to come to their succour. The result was that Tanjore

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[1] Annual Letter of the Madura Mission for 1734. *A General History of the Pudukottai State*, p. 172.

became the target of simultaneous attack by the Madura army on the one side and by the Mughals on the other side. "Nothing daunted by the sudden turn of fortune, the old Brahman general, though more than an octagenarian, marched boldly against the Mughals and barred their way to Tanjore, fortifying himself by barriers of trenches and harrassing the enemy by night attacks." The Mughal general also fought bravely; and Ananda Rao who was seated on an elephant was unluckily wounded by three arrows, which made him retreat precipitately. The Mughal cavalry broke into the Tanjore ranks without opposition. The Tanjore Raja obtained peace on his undertaking to pay a heavy sum. Ananda Rao soon afterwards died of poisoning from an arrow that pierced his body and this was a just punishment for the many cruelties he had perpetrated and so many revolutions he had stirred up.[1]

Mughals and Madura Nayak Queen invade Tanjore.

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[1] Annual Letter of the Madura Mission for 1734.

CHAPTER VI

THE INTERREGNUM. A.D. 1736-39.

From the death of Tukkoji in 1736 to the accession of Pratap Singh in 1739, the Tanjore kingdom witnessed a quick succession of kings, the intrigues of designing nobles, and the plundering expeditions of Chanda Sahib who wanted to make the best use of the then prevalent confusion and anarchy. The weak and vacillating policy of Tukkoji's successors coupled with the various claims put forward by the illegitimate sons of former rulers contributed to the disturbed atmosphere of the kingdom. A period of plots and palace-intrigues was inaugurated in which Saiyid[1] the *killedar* of the fort acted as the king-maker, and disgruntled men flocked to his banner in the hope of occupying the unsteady Tanjore throne.

Tukkoji had five sons in all who were named as follows: Baba Sahib, Saiyaji, Anna Sahib, Nana Sahib and Pratap Singh. Of these the first two were legitimate and the next three were born of Naidu concubines. Anna Sahib and Nana Sahib predeceased their father[2], and

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[1] See C.S. Srinivasachari: Muslim Adventurers in the kingdoms of Tanjore and Madura (*Volume of Indian and Iranian Studies presented to Sir E.D. Ross*, 1939).

[2] *M.E.R.* of 1921 pp. 114-15.

the two legitimate sons and Pratap Singh, the son born to Tukkoji by a sword wife Annapurna, remained. Baba Sahib, the eldest of the legitimate sons, succeeded Tukkoji and the Tanjore inscription assigns one year for his rule. His accession saw the invasion of Tanjore by Chanda Sahib who plundered it on his way to Trichinopoly, and Baba Sahib took great precautions to mitigate the severity of the enemy's raid. Himself a weak monarch and succeeding to the throne at an advanced age of 40, he was unable to counteract the powerful influence which Saiyid exercised in the affairs of the country. The *killedar* was weaving a web of intrigue, and in course of time, the king himself succumbed to one of the conspiracies.

Baba Sahib was succeeded by his wife Sujana Bai and she ruled for two years (according to the evidence of the Marathi inscription) from S. 1658, Pingala, when Tukkoji died, to S. 1660 Kalayukthi and was succeeded by Saiyaji when a palace revolution took place;[1] and a pretended nephew of Tukkoji named variously as Savai Shahji, Siddhuji[2] or Kattu

[1] According to Malleson Baba Sahib died without issue and Saiyid the Muhammadan commandant of the Tanjore fort raised two candidates, only to cause them immediately to disappear, and the surviving legitimate son, Sahuji obtained possession of power. *The Rise of the French Power in India*, p. 75.

[2] Ibid p. 76.

Raja was placed on the throne in 1738. Saiyaji or Sahuji was taken unawares and he fled to Chidambaram from where he opened negotiations with the French Governor, M. Dumas, and offered to make over to the French the town of Karaikal, the fort of Kirkangarhi, ten villages in the adjacent country and all the lands depending upon them in case he provided material aid in the recovery of the Tanjore throne. The French Governor agreed to the arrangement and sent two ships of war, the "Bourbon" and the "St. Geran" to take possession of Karaikal and to afford the promised assistance.[1] Soon Saiyaji won over to his side the *killedar* of the fort Saiyid, who well-versed in the art of making and unmaking kings, overthrew the usurper Kattu Raja and thus prepared the way for the accession of Saiyaji in August 1738.[2]

Feeling himself secure on the throne Saiyaji now saw the futility of inviting the French for help; but without revealing his real motives wrote to M. Dumas about his willingness to surrender Karaikal though not immediately. The French Governor understood the joke and thinking that the time was not propitious to take reprisal against the Raja withdrew the ships

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[1] Malleson: *The Rise of the French Power in India*, p. 76.

[2] According to the *Tanjore District Manual*, the pretended son of Sarabhoji I was got rid of by the order of the latter himself when he came to know of the deception.

from Karaikal. When Chanda Sahib heard of this he resolved to cement his friendship with the French which he thought would be useful to him in his plans of self-aggrandisement and he offered his assistance, and promised to get the port with his own soldiers. No offer was more welcome than this, and when Dumas gave his consent, 4000 men of Chanda Sahib commanded by Francisco Pereisa, a Spaniard and wholly devoted to French cause, advanced to Karaikal and forced the Tanjore army to retreat. The fort was immediately attacked, bombarded and occupied, while the news of its capture greatly gratified M. Dumas who sent to that port a war-ship laden with everything necessary to place the settlement in a state of security.

The success which attended the expedition of Chanda Sahib greatly shocked Saiyaji who at once sent messengers to Pondicherry to treat with the Governor and informed him that his hostile conduct was due to bad advice tendered by the Dutch at Negapatam. The king was ready to fulfill every one of his promises, but ere he could do this a domestic revolution hurled him from the throne[1] and Pratap Singh, his

[1] According to the Abbē Guyon, the historian of French India, Pratap Singh stifled Saiyaji in a bath of milk. But Orme's opinion that Pratap Singh was placed on the throne by the general concurrence of the principal men of the kingdom is more correct. (*History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 108). This version is accepted by the Tanjore Commission of 1799: *Report* Chap. XI, p. 167.

half-brother succeeded to the throne and he ratified the grant of Karaikal to the French.[1]

Historians are divided in their opinion regarding the order of succession after Tukkoji. Orme regards both Savai Shahji and Pratap Singh as the sons of Raja Sarabhoji I, and places them one after another in the succession list.[2] Mill distinctly speaks, basing his arguments on the authority of authentic Maratha manuscripts of Tanjore, of the pretended son of Sarabhoji I and of Sahujee (Saiyaji), the youngest of the sons of Tukkoji.[3] Mr. Dodwell[4] is of opinion that the attempt of the *Tanjore District Manual* to reconcile the versions of Orme and Duff is not supported by the *Memoir* written by Elias Guillot, the Dutch Governor of Negapatam, in 1739, which identified Shahji and Saiyaji as one and the same person: "I take it that the Shahji who reigned from 1737–39 claimed to be a son of Sarabhoji; whether he was or not I cannot pretend to decide, nor yet whether the person whose uncle visited Pondicherry was the actual prince who reigned........I think it probable that the man who was now approaching Dupleix and

[1] Malleson: *op. cit.*, pp. 77–80.

[2] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. I. p. 108.

[3] Mill: *History of India*, Vol. III, Book IV, Chap. II, p. 62. Wilson in his note on Mill says that Saiyaji as Duff calls him was the legitimate son of Tukkoji.

[4] *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. IV, pp. 350–1.

who, at the close of the year 1748, was to visit Fort St. David with more success, was the Shahji who had reigned over Tanjore."

Mr. K. R. Subramanyan refuses to concede the existence of a ruler named Saiyaji on the ground that there is no sound proof for the same, and opines that 'he is a mere figment of the imagination of the authors of the *Manual* and *Gazetteer* of Tanjore.' According to him, Shahji or Kattu Raja, the illegitimate son of Sarabhoji through Rupi or Kuppi superseded Sujana Bai for a while at first and permanently afterwards. He cites the authorities, the Dutch Memoir of 1739, Ananda Ranga Pillai's *Diary* for 1748 and the English account of 1749, which all say that Shahji was the legal heir and not Pratap Singh, and concludes that they are not well-informed on the matter. Mr. Subramanyan contends[1] that since none of these sources mentions Saiyaji, and since a French Record of 1750 accuses the English of having attempted to pull down the reigning prince Pratap Singh and place a phantom in his stead, there is no reason to suppose that Tukkoji had a legitimate son, Saiyaji who ruled for a year before Pratap's accession.[2]

But none of these arguments invalidates the existence of a king called Saiyaji. That the

[1] K. R. Subramanyan: *op. cit.,* p. 45.

[2] Ibid,. pp. 44-46.

Maratha inscription at Tanjore has deliberately avoided mentioning the name of Saiyaji in the geneological list is obvious from the fact that the second legitimate son of Tukkoji had greater claims than Pratap. It is probable as Orme says that the weak government of Saiyaji was universally disliked with the result that his half-brother Pratap Singh was placed on the throne by the general concurrence of the principal men in the kingdom.[1] If the Abbē Guyon is to be believed Pratap had Saiyaji murdered to avoid future troubles from him. And therefore, it is evident that the pretender who failed to obtain French help in 1748 but later on went to the English and obtained the same in order to regain the Tanjore throne was none other than Savai Shahji or Kattu Raja, who informed those interested in him that he was the legitimate ruler, that he sat on the Tanjore throne for sometime and that Pratap Singh was an imposter. Kattu Raja conveniently appropriated for himself the legitimacy associated with the name of Saiyaji and hood-winked the English into a false belief that he was the legitimate claimant to the throne. The French Record of 1750 says that the English were fighting for a phantom and not for the legitimate ruler.[2]

[1] Orme: *History of Indostan,* Vol. I, p. 108.

[2] *Records of Fort St. George,* Fr. Correspondence, 1750, p. 20.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE.

Raja Pratap Singh, (A.D. 1739–1763).

Pratap Singh, born to the sword wife of Tukkoji[1] succeeded the throne at a time when momentous changes took place in the political chess board of the Carnatic and when the two European powers fought tooth and nail for the extension of their influence and preservation of their interests. Dynastic revolutions, the enmity and rancour of rival claimants to the throne backed by the grasping European powers and intense warfare consumed the whole of South India. The Muhammadans were much obsessed with the idea of subjugating the independent Hindu principalities of the south, and therefore led many expeditions to achieve the same. The aggressive activities of Chanda Sahib in the Madura and Tanjore kingdoms had already resulted in the liquidation of the former and in the crippling of the latter. The

[1] Orme speaks of Pratap as a son of Sarabhoji born by one of his inferior wives. (*History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 108).

Mill is of the opinion that Pratap was the son of one of the inferior wives of Tukkoji. (*History of India*, Vol. II, p. 62).

Grant Duff plainly says that he was the son of a concubine. (*History of the Marathas*, Vol. I, p. 462).

prime need of the hour was a strong ruler to guarantee the safety of the country and defend it against all external aggression. In Pratap Singh Tanjore had such a king, and being brave and diplomatic[1] he was able to withstand the frequent onslaughts of the enemy and save the state from complete destruction. He earned for himself the love and affection of the people by granting them all concessions and by pursuing a policy of toleration, while towards his enemies he was ruthless and cruel.

Pratap ascended the throne in 1739 after deposing Saiyaji, and the country had not fully recovered from the confusion born out of the dynastic revolutions between 1736 to 1739. During these years various pretenders claiming to be the legitimate heirs, demanded the throne and the powerful nobles of the land took the opportunity for advancing their own claims. Saiyid, the *killedar* of the Tanjore fort and the most powerful captain, conscious of the army which backed him, interfered successfully in the internal matters and became such a deciding factor in the question of succession to the state that he earned for himself the title of 'King-maker.' Pratap when he became king, was not prepared to tolerate the usurped authority of the *killedar*, and therefore at an opportune

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[1] Orme calls Pratap as a 'Wily Tanjorean.' *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, pp. 134-35.

moment, he removed this enemy in his path of advancement by executing him. The new king was able to carry on the administration of the country successfully with the assistance of his great minister Dabir Pandit, who became famous for his revenue regulations. To fight his enemies, the king had in Manaji and Sakhoji, brave generals who were second to none in their skill to achieve victory. The king himself was a shrewd judge of men and affairs, and it may be said that none but Pratap could have saved Tanjore from falling a prey to the raging appetite of the French and Chanda Sahib. Thus the frontiers of the kingdom were defended with ancient honour and trained soldiery.

Tanjore, the cockpit of the Carnatic.

It was in the year 1732 that the Nawab of the Carnatic, Dost Ali Khan, sent his son, Safdar Ali, along with his son-in-law Chanda Sahib to exact tributes from the rulers of Madura, Tanjore and Ramnad. They took Tanjore by storm and as Tukkoji consented to pay them tribute, they left for Trichinopoly. The civil war which was raging there at that time provided ample scope for the invaders to succeed in their attempt and Chanda Sahib was left single-handed to manage the situation to the best of his ability. It is not necessary here to narrate how Chanda Sahib by his perfidy and treachery brought about the abdi-

cation and suicide of Rani Minakshi and became the lord of Trichinopoly.[1] In the meantime in 1736, Chanda Sahib undertook another expedition into the Tanjore kingdom, but on receiving liberal presents, turned towards Trichinopoly.[2] These depredations[3] of Chanda Sahib so reduced Tanjore that the king even contemplated to flee from the kingdom to some other place of safety.[4] Still he endured the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune with remarkable fortitude.

Pratap Singh was not regular in the payment of tribute; moreover he was positively

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[1] "Husayn Dost Khan, the third son-in-law (of the Nawab Dost Ali) went there in the guise of peace. Swearing on the word of Allah, the king, the Great Knower, he span the thread of relationship of a brother to her, made it into a noose of punishment and deceived her. He cut the throat of the times, broke his plighted word, and tinged his scimitar with blood. Finally in the sarai known as *Dilwai Mandap* adjoining the fort of Trichinoply, he broke (his covenant with her) yielding to his prolific vicious nature, took possession of the fort, and set the mischief afoot. The Rani became aware of the deceit being took weak to take revenge, the power went from her hands. Thus wounded in heart and helpless, she burnt herself according to the custom of the Hindus."

Nainar: *Tuzuk-i-Walajahi, Eng.Tr.* Part I, pp. 70-71.

[2] *Records of Fort St. George:* Despatches to England 1736-40. p.4.

[3] *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai* Vol. I, pp. 63-64.

Malleson: *op. cit.,* p. 64.

[4] *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence* 1740, p. 9.

disobedient to the subhadar of the Carnatic. Consequently he was pensioned off[1] and a Muhammadan deputy was placed to take care of the kingdom. It was at this time that the southern states requisitioned the help of Maharaja Shahu of Satara, who incensed at the atrocities committed by the Muhammadans in the Tanjore kingdom ruled by a collateral branch of his family, despatched an army of 40 to 50 thousand under Raghoji Bhonsle to wreak vengeance on the wrong-doers.[2] This huge Maratha army advanced into the Carnatic and at the Damalcheruvu Pass defeated and slew Nawab Dost Ali Khan. Afterwards Raghoji Bhonsle made peace with the Nawab's son Safdar Ali and recognised him as the new Nawab in August 1740. The Maratha general also insisted that the attacks on Tanjore should be stopped and that the lawful monarch should be restored[3] as a result of which Pratap Singh was made king. Continuing their victorious march, the Marathas surprised Chanda Sahib in his fort at Trichinopoly, and compelled him

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[1] *Tanjore Papers* 1777, Introduction, p. 9.

[2] *Letters from Fort St. George,* 1739, p. 61.

Orme writes that the Nizam encouraged the Marathas in their struggle against the Nawab. Another version is that the Nawab's son jealous of Chanda Sahib's power invited the Marathas to invade the Carnatic. *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence,* 1740, p. 12.

[3] *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence* 1740, p. 9.

to surrender it; leaving the fort in the hands of Murari Rao Ghorpade,[1] they retraced their steps homeward with Chanda Sahib as their prisoner. In all these transactions, Pratap Singh did not evince any keen interest and refrained from cooperating with his own kinsmen in their victorious activities. It may be that he feared the attempt of Raghoji as one undertaken for the complete subjugation of South India and the imposition of Shahu's surzerainty. In that case he would have to lose his independence and merge his kingdom into the larger and more powerful confederacy. Anyway, the selfish policy of Pratap is so very patent and his non-cooperation reflects the separatist policy (or attitude) that had taken a deep root in the Maratha principality of the south. Moreover, there was little love lost between Pratap and Murari Rao, as a result of which an understanding developed between the latter and the French, and the Tanjore kingdom was subjected to the relentless depredations carried out systematically by the Maratha adventurer.

The success of the Marathas greatly perturbed the aged Nizam, and he personally undertook an expedition to the south in order to settle matters. When the Nizam arrived with

[1] An interesting account of this Maratha adventurer is given by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari in an article on him in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XV, 1939 pp. 551-574.

a large army at Arcot in March 1743 all the chiefs of the country promptly submitted to him, while Murari Rao was ordered to quit Trichinopoly and Anwaru'd-din was made the Nawab of Arcot. He led two expeditions into Tanjore one in 1744 and another in 1745 and the victories achieved "led to nothing further than the exaction from Raja Pratap Singh of a bond for seven lakhs of rupees and perhaps also of some money in ready cash in discharge of arrears of tribute."[1]

To Dupleix, the ambitious French Governor of Pondicherry (1742-55), the troubled atmosphere in the Carnatic afforded a welcome opportunity for the extension of his influence over the native Rajas. He delved into the then mysterious negotiations and bizarre intrigues with the consummate skill of an artist. He thought that if Chanda Saheb was ransomed home from the Marathas, then he would be a suitable rival to Anwaru'd-din and for this purpose he was prepared to arrange for the payment of the ransom demanded for his release.[2] Chanda Sahib was released in 1748[3] on a payment of seven lakhs of rupees[4]

[1] Venkatasami Rao: *Tanjore Manual* p. 780.

[2] *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. III, pp. 141-143.

[3] Dodwell: *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 33.

An elucidation on Chanda Sahib's release is attempted by Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari in his *Ananda Ranga Pillai*. pp. 108-110 Note.

[4] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 121.

and leaving Satara with 3000 troops finally descended on the Carnatic, after undergoing several trials. The rival claimant to the subhadarship, Muzaffar Jang, joined Chanda Sahib and agreed to follow implicitly his commands, for he was looked upon as his guardian angel.[1] At Ambur (1749) they defeated Anwaru 'd-din and his son Muhammad Ali fled to Trichinopoly. They then marched to Arcot* where Chanda Sahib was proclaimed Nawab of Arcot, while all the chiefs of districts, governors of forts and other leading nobles were forced to pay tribute. "After having thus established the reputation of their authority as sovereigns, they proceeded with the greatest part of their army, accompanied by the French battalion to Pondicherry and made their entry into the city with great pomp."[2] Dupleix thought that his plan had succeeded and proposed to Chanda Sahib that he must next attack Trichinopoly wherein Muhammed Ali had taken refuge, so that his possible opposition to their pretensions might be eliminated. The latter agreed to this and left Pondicherry on the 28th of October 1749[3] towards Trichinopoly.

Meanwhile Nasir Jang, who had succeeded to his father's throne perturbed at the defeat

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[1] Ibid p. 126.

[2] Ibid, p. 131.

[3] C. S. Srinivasachari: *Ananda Ranga Pillai*, p. 146.

and death of Anwaru 'd-din collected his army to lead an expedition to the south in order to establish his authority. He applied to Raghoji Bhonsle for a body of Maratha troops, for which he ceded some territory. With his own army and assisted by the Maratha contingent of 10,000 horse, Nazir Jang advanced south. As this news spread, all the Mughal dependents and tributaries in the Carnatic flocked under his banner. In course of time Murari Rao, the Rajah of Mysore, the Nawabs of Cuddapah, Kurnool and Sunganur, Muhammad Ali and his ally the English, all joined Nazir Jang. This mighty combination naturally disheartened Chanda Sahib and his ally Muzaffar Jang.

On December 13, the combined forces of Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang crossed the Coleroon into the Tanjore kingdom and in a few days reached Tanjore which they began to besiege. They demanded the payment of arrears of tribute from the death of Nawab Anwaru 'd-din, together with the cost of the present expedition all amounting to 40 million rupees. Pratap Singh knew that it would be a difficult task for him to defy the formidable enemy; and in order to gain time he spoke sweet words to Chanda Sahib and promised a speedy payment of the amount demanded. He duped him in this way till such time as his correspondence

Tanjore besieged by Chanda Sahib 1749-50

with Muhammad Ali and Nazir Jang to hasten to his succour bore fruit.[1] Pratap also wrote to the English for assistance against his enemies.[2] Believing the words of Pratap, Chanda Sahib did not permit his soldiers to approach any place nearer than three miles off the capital and requested the French troops to refrain from all hostilities.

Manaji Appa, the Tanjore general who was staying outside the fort insisted on giving a battle to the enemies, and in the action which followed, the Maratha army begged for quarter which was granted, and then the French advanced and seized a gate of the fort.[3] But the accounts given by Orme and Malleson are different. According to the former, Dupleix finding that his exhortations had no effect, ordered the commander of the French battalion to endeavour to break off the treaty by committing some signal hostility. By this time Chanda

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[1] "The wily Tanjorean knew that by protracting time he should increase the distress of his enemies, and in his letters expressed himself with so much seeming humility that Chanda Sahib suffered himself to be amused to the middle of December without having settled the terms of accommodation." Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol I, pp, 134-35.

[2] "I depend on you alone for the defence of me and my kingdom and leave everything to your good management." *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence*, 1751, page 6.

[3] C. S. Srinivasachari: *Ananda Ranga Pillai*, p. 152.

Sahib understood the trick which the Tanjore king had played on him, and gave his consent for the assault, and on the eighth day, the fort was subjected to bombardment. Thereupon the Tanjore Raja sent his emissaries to begin negotiations and they wasted their time in endless parleys. The result was that once more the French batteries opened fire, and one of the gates of the city was carried. The Raja became aware of the seriousness of the situation and on the 21st December concluded a treaty, by which he agreed to pay Chanda Sahib, seven crores of rupees, two lakhs immediately to the French troops, and ceded to the French Company the sovereignty of 81 villages.[1] Malleson says that Dequesne, acting under instructions from Dupleix, when the peace negotiations failed, attacked and carried one of the gates of the town, after which the Raja gave in and signed a treaty on the 21st December which included among other provisions that he should pay Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang 70 lakhs of rupees, remit the annual ground-rent due for the Karaikal territory and add to the French possessions new territory comprising 81 villages.[2]

Although Pratap Singh agreed to pay his enemies so much, he knew how to delay the

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[1] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. 1, pp. 135-36.

[2] Malleson; *op. cit.*, pp. 247-48.

payment for the ostensible purpose of exposing them to the attacks of the advancing army under Nazir Jang. The death of Maharaja Shahu in December 1749 was deemed by Chanda Sahib as a convenient occasion for the dethronement of Pratap and the crowning of his son as the ruler of Tanjore.[1] Dupleix well understood the stupidity of the scheme, for such an action would bring upon Chanda Sahib the might of Maharashtra, and therefore advised his ally not to pitch his ambition too high, while orders were issued to the French Captain and the Jamadars of sepoys to refrain from plundering the fort of Tanjore. At last news arrived in March that Nazir Jang had reached the Chengama Pass, and that his colleague Murari Rao was stationed on the northern frontier of the Tanjore country with a large body of Maratha horse. Murari Rao retreated when Chanda Sahib and his soldiers advanced, and harassed them continuously. With very great difficulty, the French troops, Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib reached Pondicherry. Thus did Tanjore escape complete annihilation, and the procrastinating policy adopted by Pratap saved him from paying his enemies in full.

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[1] *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. VI, p. 363.

The expelled Savai Shahji or Kattu Raja was weaving a web of intrigue with the opposition party in Tanjore against Pratap Singh, and made desperate attempts to regain the lost throne. He counted the help of the French for which purpose he sent his vakil, Koyagi Ghangte[1] to negotiate with Dupleix for an alliance. The shrewd governor had his own doubts about the *locus standi* of Savai Shahji and refused to have any understanding with him with the result that the vakil returned disappointed. Further Dupleix was not prepared to lose the friendship of the then Tanjore king, Pratap Singh, owing to the critical stage in the Anglo-French struggles. Le Riche of Karaikal had advised him because of the troubled times not to launch on any fresh adventure. The result was that letters were written to Pratap Singh and his minister Manaji Appa expressing surprise at the survival of the pretender Kattu Raja. "We thought Shahji was dead, and are astonished that you have written to M. Paradis, the chief of Karaikal, to say that the old Raja Sarabhoji's son, Shahji, the late tyrannous Raja, has been kept in Pondicherry; it surprises us as much as if a dead man had

Disputed succession in Tanjore in 1749.

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[1] In a letter to the Madras governor dated 9th March 1748 Pratap Singh informs him that Koyagi Ghangte was his enemy: *Fort St. George*: *Country Correspondence,* Public Department 1748, p. 19.

come to life again. We could get no advantage from helping him, and so why should we concern ourselves with so unlucky a man?"[1]

The failure to obtain French help did not dishearten Kattu Raja, for he went to Fort St. David in 1749 and requested the English to champion his cause.[2] His ardent importunities and the promise to cede so fertile a tract as Devikottai as well as to defray the expenses of the war, were too tempting to the English that they were not able to refuse the hand of friendship so eagerly extended.[3] In fact, the English had no justification whatever to declare war against the lawful sovereign of Tanjore, Pratap Singh, whom they had recognized king for the past seven years, and whom in 1748, the Company had addressed as his 'Majesty'.[4] To conclude the desire to acquire some territory was the supreme cause for this war and the offer of Devikottai at the mouth of the Coleroon was

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[1] *The Private Diary of Ananda Ranga Pillai*, Vol. IV, pp. 350 and 387.

[2] *Fort St. George, Country Correspondence* 1748, p. 83. "I have determined to assist the king of Tanjore now in this place to put him in possession of his lawful kingdom of which he has been unjustly deprived and it is with no small pleasure I hear that he is your favourite."

[3] Ibid, *Country Correspondence* 1749, p. 14.

[4] *Fort St. George, Country Correspondence* 1748, pp. 7 and 29.

much coveted by the English. They did not for a moment think what an unwelcome guest Kattu Raja was to the Tanjoreans and also how determined the Tanjore army was to defend their own king Pratap.

The fort of Devikottai was about a mile in circumference, with walls 18 feet high, and was flanked at unequal intervals by projecting towers, some circular and some square. The English sent two expeditions against the fort, and the result of these was the gaining of much experience! The first attempt was a total failure, and the English being engaged against the forces of an Indian Prince for the first time, were struck with no small degree of fear on comparing the superior number of the enemy with their own.[1] The fort was gallantly defended, and its governor, an experienced man of 40 years had lived hitherto without reproach, and with his 5,000 men, refusing to sully the small remains of his life by surrendering a place he thought impregnable, fought heroically.[2] Thus the engagement of the English with a native prince proved a signal failure, and they had to return to Fort St. David. The second expedition was undertaken not with the

[1] Orme: *History of Indostan* Vol. I, p. 110.

[2] *Papers relating to the Restoration of the Raja of Tanjore* Vol. III (Appendix Vol. I), p. 33.

idea of restoring Kattu Raja to the Tanjore throne, but with the sole purpose of capturing Devikottai in order to wipe off the stigma of defeat.[1] In this they succeeded and though gallantly defended by Manaji, Devikottai was captured thanks to the labours of Major Lawrence and Captain Clive. Tanjore came to peace terms not out of any fear of the English arms, but owing to the news about the defeat and death of Anwaru'd-din in the battle of Ambur and the quick advance by Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jang towards the south. According to the treaty, Pratap agreed to grant to the English the fort of Devikottai and some amount towards the expenses of the war, and to pay to Kattu Raja a pension of Rs. 40,000.[2] The expeditions brought to lime light the superior fighting qualities of the Tanjore troops, and convinced the English that they should not lose the friendship of Pratap Singh in their engagements with the French.

[1] According to Orme the expedition was undertaken "from the desire of wiping out, by some success the reproach of having retreated before the arms of an Indian prince, and from the view of making some acquisitions tc compensate the expenses which had already been incurred." *History of Indostan* Vol. I, p. 112. "They determined however that the capture of Devikottah, not the restoration of Shahujee should be their first object." *Memoirs of Lord Clive*, Vol. I, Chap, V.

[2] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. I. p. 118; *Fort St. David Consultation*, April 26, May 22 and June 1749.

When the period of trouble passed away Tanjore became the active supporter of the English and Nasir Jang in their attempt to crush the schemes of Chanda Sahib and the French. Pratap Singh and the English exchanged pledges of mutual friendship and promised to continue the same.[1] The scene of Anglo-French struggle soon shifted to Trichinopoly where Muhammad Ali was closely besieged by Chanda Sahib and the French. Tanjore was not able to remain neutral, and she threw in her lot with Muhammad Ali,[2] who had obtained help from Nanja Raja, the Mysore minister and Murari Rao Ghorpade.[3] Pratap Singh sent to Trichinopoly 3000 horse and 2000 foot under general Manaji [4] to help Muhammad Ali.

Death of Chanda Sahib

On the 26th of April 1752 the Maratha general Manaji, captured Koviladi from the French acting on the instructions of Major Lawrence.[5] Chanda Sahib, as days passed on, and as his enemies focussed their attempts to cripple him, realized the danger, and represented to the French general, Mr. Law the necessity for making a

[1] *Fort St. George, Country Correspondence* 1751, pp. 2 and 8.

[2] Ibid, p. 67.

[3] C. S. Srinivasachari: *Ananda Ranga Pillai*, p. 218.

[4] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. I. p. 208.

[5] Ibid, p. 226.

vigorous effort to extricate themselves. Mr. Law was very earnest in his attempts to secure the safety of Chanda Sahib, and he did not want that he should surrender to the English. There was none to save Chanda Sahib at that time except the Tanjore general Manaji who was considered, because of the variance with the Tanjore king, to be the proper person to give asylum to the distressed man.[1] According to Ananda Ranga Pillai, on the 16th of June 1752, Chanda Sahib, Shaik Hasan, Mr. Law and others were surrounded in the Srirangam temple, and in despair Chanda Sahib offered to pay a certain sum of money to Manaji who gave him a safe conduct. Two days later (June 18th) the Diarist learnt that Chanda Sahib, when he was saying his prayers in Manaji Appa's tent, was murdered.[2] Malleson relying on Orme's version says that Lawrence had it in his power to save Chanda Sahib, but unfortunately connived at his death.[3] For this thankless deed of Manaji, the

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[1] Orme: *History of Indostan,* Vol. I, pp. 236-237.

[2] C. S. Srinivasachari: *Ananda Ranga Pillai,* p. 229. Orme says that as soon as Chanda Sahib entered his tent, Manaji imprisoned him and put him in chains. The next day a conference was held between Major Lawrence, Muhammad Ali, Murari Rao, Manaji and the Mysore general, when the proposal that the English should have the prisoner was opposed by the other three parties. To end the unpleasant situation, Manaji ordered the execution of Chanda Sahib. (Orme: *History of Indostan,* Vol. I, pp. 236-241).

[3] Malleson: *op. cit.*, p. 328 Note.

Maratha Raja received Koviladi and remission of arrears of tribute for 10 years.

Murari Rao and the French

With the execution of Chanda Sahib and the discomfiture of the French army, Muhammad Ali and his associates were left supreme in the Carnatic. From now followed a period of intrigue which was very ably utilized by Dupleix for his own advantage, and he exerted his energy to win over to his side the Mysore Dalavay and Murari Rao. It was on the distinct understanding of obtaining from Muhammad Ali the city of Trichinopoly and its dependencies, that Nanja Raja came with a large army to assist the former.[1] But when the battle was won and when Muhammad Ali became the indisputable master of the Carnatic, he refused to translate his promise to the Mysore Dalavay by informing that the Subah of Trichinopoly belonged to the Mughal Emperor, and therefore, himself being only a viceroy cannot disturb the territorial integrity of the Empire. The attempts of Murari Rao

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[1] Muhammad Ali wrote to Nanja Raja thus: "I am in danger of losing my life, fort, and family. I therefore desire you will assist me with men and money at this juncture, which goodness I shall never forget. I shall not only give you the fort of Trichinopoly but will act according to your direction. For a strict observance of these, I swear to you upon my priest, father and Koran" *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence*, 1753, p. 53.

to bring about an understanding between Muhammad Ali and the Mysore Commander proved abortive, and Orme thinks that "he (Murari Rao) was the most improper person that could have been chosen to adjust this difference."[1] But a temporary arrangement was made by which Muhammad Ali allowed Nanja Raja to collect the revenues of the island of Srirangam and promised to deliver up Trichinopoly after two months. Afterwards he left with the major part of his army to subjugate Arcot, leaving Dalton with a small contingent to watch the movements of the Mysore Dalavay. The disappointment of Nanja Raja was very intense and the overtures of Dupleix were most tantalizing to one who wanted to take reprisal against the promise-breaker, Muhammad Ali. The outcome of these negotiations was the signing of an *entente cordiale* in February 1752 by which the 'Dictator of the Mysore State' agreed to pay 15 lakhs on the total to the French for their help to capture Trichinopoly.[2]

Dupleix now turned his attention to Murari Rao, the volatile Maratha general, whom gold and the prospect of plunder attracted most. He received frequent letters and presents from Dupleix and his wife, who by slandering the

[1] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 246.

[2] Dodwell: *Dupleix and Clive*, p. 69.

English and by praising his valour made the Maratha general desire the friendship of the French. Ambassadors were sent to Pondicherry who delivered the letter of negotiation to Dupleix which contained a list of twenty-two demands made by Murari Rao comprehending a jaghir besides certain forts, a lease of certain districts and the Sirpi, Yadiki and Tadpatri countries in jaghir. Dupleix agreed with certain modification and also granted to Murari Rao the right of the Carnatic *chauth.*[1] Murari Rao himself went to Pondicherry and on the 3rd of January with his body of 4000 men together with 500 Europeans and 2000 sepoys marched to the vicinity of Trivati. Lawrence and the Nawab returned from Fort St. David to their former encampment. Many skirmishes followed between the two armies, and in most of them Murari Rao distinguished himself. The French did not help him actively in his attempts;[2] but his plundering expeditions told upon the English and Muhammad Ali. The English finding their position most irksome, and lacking sufficient cavalry, requested the king of Tanjore to send cavalry troopers for their

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[1] C. S. Srinivasachari: *Ananda Ranga Pillai* pp. 254-55 *Note.*

[2] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 276.

assistance. Pratap Singh sent a body of horsemen, but when he heard that Murari Rao's men were prepared to enter his country, withdrew his men to the bitter disappointment of the English.[1]

Nanja Raja and the siege of Trichinopoly

Nanja Raja was not keeping quiet, and he prepared himself for the conquest of Trichinopoly. When the English battalion left the place, attempts were made by the regent to bribe the defenders of the fort to prepare for a *coup* by the Mysore army. But Dalton took great pains to check the same, and the Madras Council resolved to treat Nanja Raja as a declared enemy. In consequence of this resolution, Dalton marched out of the city on the 23rd December 1752, and in the attempt to harass the enemy on the island of Srirangam lost a good part of his army. On his part, Nanja Raja resorted to a successful system of economic blockade by which all convoys of grains reaching the city of Trichinopoly were plundered. The blockade most effectively affected the resources of Dalton, who announced on April 12th that he had provisions only for 15 or 20 days. Lawrence had to hurry to the succour of Dalton, and he applied once more to the king of Tanjore

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[1] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 277.

for help. Moreover in order to awe him into compliance Lawrence determined to proceed to Trichinopoly through the Tanjore kingdom.[1]

Dupleix and Nanja Rao tried their level best to win to their side Pratap Singh,[2] who on account of these intrigues vacillated and waited to join the stronger party.[3] When the English army passed through Chidambaram and arrived at Tanjore in April 1753, Pratap Singh deputed Sakhoji, the Prime Minister to compliment the Nawab and Major Lawrence. Very near the capital, Sakhoji, followed by his glittering army of 3000 horse and 200 elephants, met his guests and promised to help them. In fact he ordered his horsemen to proceed with them to Trichinopoly; "but the next day after marching a few miles, they left the army promising however to return very soon."[4] The arrival

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[1] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 281.

[2] Murari Rao wrote a strong letter to Pratap condemning Muhammad Ali as a promise-breaker and exhorted him to join them. The letter concludes: "If you don't listen to me, depend upon it that I shall enter Cholamandalam alias your country and ruin it, revenge the death of Chanda first upon you and then the English. The French are very bold and they will go through with what they have begun and stand to it to the very last." *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence* 1753, p. 54.

[3] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book*, 1753, p. 66.

[4] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 281. Perhaps the withdrawal of the troops might be due to the incursions of Murari Rao. When the latter heard that the Tanjore king had allowed the army of the

of Lawrence and the extraordinary measures which he took to guarantee a steady supply of grains from both Pudukottah and Tanjore, compelled the Mysore Dalavay to take counter measures. "In Tondaiman's country he bribed the chiefs and officers of such districts as lay convenient for furnishing provisions; and at Tanjore gained over to his interest the Prime Minister Sakhoji, who entirely ruled the king, his master."[1] But Pratap Singh did not wholly identify himself with Nanja Raja, and attributed his inability to provide the English with their requirements owing to the depredations of his enemies; but he promised to help them when favourable conditions arrived. Nanja Raja wrote frequent letters to Pratap and urged him to join them.[2] The Tànjore king wanted to act

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Nabob pass through his kingdom, he sent his soldiers who burnt the chariots of gods, defiled the pagodas, and set fire to paddy fields and houses. *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence* 1753, pp. 57 and 65.

[1] Orme: *History of Indostan*; Vol. I, p. 286.

[2] "I, the French at Pondicherry and Murari Rao were united. We shall besiege the Fort of Trichinopoly and take it. We are rich and we shall not value the money; we shall spend a crore or two crores of money and shall enlist an extraordinary army. We shall stay and do the business even if it takes up 5 or 7 years. The English cannot manage the business to the very end; as soon as they are brought to straights for expenses they will immediately retreat, if they lose any number of men in battle so many will their army be lessened. If we lose ten men we can get 100 in their room as we are able to entertain a large army which is not in their power to do. Muhammad Ali is unable to support his own

as the peace-maker between Muhammad Ali and Nanja Raja,[1] but the latter refused to abide by any other treaty except by the one which would give him Trichinopoly.[2]

The unsympathetic attitude of the Tanjore king did not mar the victorious scheme of Lawrence, and on the 26th June 1753, he won a brilliant victory near the hill known as the "Fakir's Rock." He was not able to completely crush the enemy owing to their superior numbers, and leaving Dalton in command of Trichinopoly hastened to Tanjore in order to obtain from Pratap Singh the long promised help. Meanwhile Mr. Palk had prevailed upon the king of Tanjore to espouse the cause of the English, as a result of which the Tanjore army consisting of 3000 horse and 2000 matchlocks commanded by "the best and the most experienced Sardar in his service" Manaji joined Major Lawrence.[3] With this force he advanced towards Trichinopoly and on the 21st September

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business, the English labour under the same inability. We are powerful in regard to wealth, and we will finish whatever we desire. If you join us, we shall be agreeable to you in every respect and moreover we shall attend to what you may say and give you anything you want." *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence* 1753, p. 89.

[1] *Madras Diary and Consultation Book* 1753, p. 63.

[2] *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence* 1753, p. 78.

[3] Orme: *History of Indostan* Vol. I, p. 299. *Country Correspondence* 1753, p. 93.

in the battle of the Sugar-Loaf Rock, completely defeated the ring of foes.[1] After the victory, owing to the approach of the monsoon Lawrence moved off into the Tanjore kingdom, leaving a sufficient garrison at Trichinopoly.

Dupleix thought that this remarkable success of the English was due to the great assistance rendered by the cavalry of the Tanjore king, and tried to deprive them of this help. To achieve this plan, Dupleix found a ready tool in the person of Sakhoji, the Prime Minister, who had been heavily bribed by Nanja Raja. To Pratap Singh, Dupleix sent a threatening letter which informed him that if he had any idea of helping the English and the Nawab, the Maratha soldiers under him would come down upon his fair kingdom and devastate it with fire and sword. Pratap Singh was naturally vexed. Taking advantage of the situation, Sakhoji advised him to remove the brilliant commander of the army and his enemy Manaji, whom he represented, because of his leanings towards the English, as most dangerous to the person of the king.[2] To crown

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[1] *Fort St. George: Diary and Consultation Book* 1753, p. 118.

[2] Orme: *History of Indostan* Vol. I. p. 319. A letter from Fort St. George says that "Menajee is at present under the king's displeasure having refused to going out to command the troops without being restored to his former privileges." *Diary and Consultation Book* 1753, p. 229

this unstable, but pretentious edifice of successful diplomacy, the Tanjore king was lured to sign a treaty to vouchsafe his friendship with the triumvirate. But the unexpected turn of events woke up Pratap from his slumber and made him repent for his foolish behaviour.

This event was the last desperate attempt made by the French on the 27th November 1753 to capture Trichinopoly. They directed their determined attacks upon a part of the fortifications known as 'Dalton's Battery';[1] but they proved abortive. Never was failure so complete and the French army was much impaired. The news about the setback to the French greatly astonished the Tanjore king and he became anxious to renew his friendship with the English.[2] This conversion brought forth the wrath of the French on the Tanjore kingdom, and Kovilady was subjected to complete destruction, while the men of Murari Rao carried fire and destruction into

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[1] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. I. p. 320.

[2] This event forced the Tanjore king to solicit the help of the English and he declared: " As I depend upon your Honours strength and friendship, I am under no manner of apprehensions, look upon my country as your own, promote its welfare and settle it upon a firm footing in every respect, I have these hopes in you" *Fort St. George . Country Correspondence*, 1753, p. 156.

the interior.[1] Pratap Singh appointed Govinda Rao as commander to defend the Tanjore kingdom.[2] Major Lawrence wanted that Manaji should be restored to the leadership of the army. But the very name of Manaji alarmed the king, upon which Lawrence suggested that the present army under Govinda Rao might join his own forces for a determined stand. But this was not done, and as Tanjore troops allowed themselves to be amused by a few soldiers belonging to Dupleix, about 1200 Marathas slipped into the Tanjore kingdom, plundered and burnt the villages,[3] and caused so much of consternation throughout the country that Pratap Singh realised his folly in dispensing with the services of so able a general as Manaji. He now strenuously solicited Major Lawrence to come to his aid and restored Manaji to the generalship. At the head of 3000 horse, Manaji went in search of the enemy, whom he entrapped between two branches of the Cauveri near the sea, and completely

[1] Orme: *History of Indostan* Vol. I, p. 341.

[2] "Monagee is degraded from his command which has been conferred on Gadirow and that they were to march on a few days, he (Mr. Cook) takes notice of Succojee Naik's great power at court and his being in the French interest." *Madras Diary and Consultation Book* 1753, p. 230.

[3] *Fort St. George Country Correspondence* 1753, p. 165.

destroyed them.[1] He carried his task too far in which attempt he subjected his prisoners to bloody murder. "Having disgraced his victory by this cruelty, he returned with the horses of the slain in triumph to Tanjore."[2] By this remarkable deed Manaji thought he had won the favour of his master. But Sakhoji, the Prime Minister[3], fearing the ascendancy of his rival advised Pratap to dismiss Manaji, whom he represented as having embezzled a large part of the money provided to conduct the campaign.

Murari Rao waited to obtain a fairly big sum from the English for leaving the place. In the later part of May 1754, the French general M. Maissin marched with his entire troop and after an abortive attempt on the Tondaiman's country, fell upon the dominions of the Tanjore Raja took Koviladi, and subjected the land to systematic plunder. Notwithstanding this, his troops inflicted the most wanton cruelty on

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[1] *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence* 1754, p. 17.

[2] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 342.

[3] "The king is entirely led by Succojee Naik. He is the only man in the opposition and his advice is immediately followed."

Fort St. George: Diary and Consultation Book 1754, pp. 106-107.

Tanjore by cutting through the great bank, "the bulwark of the fertility of the Tanjore kingdom."[1] Pratap Singh sent 1500 horse under Govinda Rao to prevent the depredations of the enemy. At this critical juncture Murari Rao thought that if he fell on the army of Govinda Rao at Tirukattupalli, and defeated it, the terrified Tanjore Raja would give him a good sum. With this object he attacked Govinda Rao and completely routed him. Mr. Palk attributed this sudden change in the fortunes of Tanjore to the evil counsel of Sakhoji and requested Pratap to restore Manaji to the leadership. Accordingly, the Tanjore king banished Sakhoji and appointed Manaji both as commander and minister.[2] It was at this time that Murari Rao finding his stay vain, consented to leave the place on a payment of 3 lakhs of rupees.[3] Thus did Tanjore play a most significant and fateful part in this momentous struggle, and won the appreciation of the English, and in one of the despatches the services of Pratap are praised thus: "The king of Tanjore acts as justly as Eastern Politics allow."[4]

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[1] Orme: *History of Indostan* Vol. I, p. 26.

[2] Ibid, p. 361.

[3] *Fort St. George, Country Correspondence,* 1754, p. 154.

[4] Dodwell: *The Madras Despatches* 1744-45, p. 248.

The departure of Murari Rao and the suspension of French activities did not in any way guarantee peace for the Tanjore kingdom, for very soon the Raja engaged himself to settle differences which had arisen due to border disputes with the Tondaiman and the Ramnad rulers. But the temporary removal of the French danger lulled not Pratap Singh into any false sense of security, for the Presidency often reminded him that the cloud may at any time burst and advised him to be always in a state of preparedness.[1] Their fears came true for with the accession of M. Lally to the governorship of Pondicherry, we are once more ushered into that period of feverish French attempts to regain the lost prestige and establish the sway of France. His early successes at Fort St. David and Devikottai turned his head and thinking himself invincible, waited for fresh opportunities to arise for the display of his military talents.

Lally in the Tanjore Country

Among the prisoners released on account of the fall of Fort St. David (2nd June, 1758) was Koyaji Ghangte, the uncle of Shahji or Kattu Raja and he proposed to the French that in case they helped him to recover the Tanjore throne for his nephew

[1] *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence*, 1756, p. 75.

he would pay them 40 lakhs besides the expenditure incurred by the army.[1] This offer came in quite unexpectedly for, the French governor had contemplated to demand from the Tanjore king 56 lakhs of rupees which amount he owed to Chanda Sahib, and the bond for which amount was in his hands.[2] The Jesuit Father Lavaur justified the expediency of marching into the Tanjore kingdom with the object of placing Kattu Raja on the throne and demanding the money sword in hand. Accordingly an army under Lally marched from Pondicherry and reached Karaikal on the 25th June 1758. Here he was met by the Brahman envoy sent by the Tanjore king to treat with the French governor about peace terms. Lally sent him back demanding the immediate payment of 56 lakhs of rupees. Lally then proceeded to Nagore[3] where his hopes of obtaining much booty got shattered and on the 28th arrived at Kivalur. Believing the words of some who informed him that the Brahmans possessed much wealth, and desirous of depriving them of the same he "ransacked and dug the houses, drained the tanks, and

[1] C. S. Srinivasachari: *Ananda Ranga Pillai*, p. 393.

[2] Orme: *History of Indostan*, (Vol. II) p. 318.

[3] "By plundering the lamps, quilts, carpets and other things of decoration from the shrine of his holiness Hazrat Sayyid Abdul Qadir Sahib Naguri and committing all kinds of sacrilegious acts in that holy place, he lost the strength of success from his hand." Nainar: *Tuzuki-Walajahi*, Vol. II, p. 196.

took the idols out of the chapels, but no treasures were found; and the idols proved to be only of brass."[1]

Meanwhile Pratap had made feverish preparations to defend his country, and stationed Manaji with 25,000 horse and 5000 sepoys on the road between Tanjore and Trivalore. He solicited help from the Nabob and the English as also from his own enemies, the Tondaiman and the Ramnad chief. Captain Caillaud, when his army was reinforced by that of Yusuf Khan from Tinnevelly, sent a small detachment to the help of the Tanjore king. More than this, the Presidency exhorted the Tondaiman and Marava chief to sink their differences with the Tanjore king. Accordingly they sent their men to Manaji's camp. The combined forces inflicted heavy damages on the French army on its way from Trivalore to Tanjore; but when the French opened fire the Tanjore troops retreated in panic and Lally finally encamped near Mariamman Kovil, 4 miles east of Tanjore.[2] The Raja immediately opened negotiations[3] and promised to pay 30

[1] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 321.

[2] C. S. Srinivasachari: *Ananda Ranga Pillai*, p. 392.

[3] According to *Tuzuki-Walajahi*, the Tanjore army was so shattered to pieces by the French that 'Pratap Singh on account of great terror was about to sue for peace and thus preserve his life and his belongings." Nainar: *Tuzuki-Walajahi*, II, p. 198.

lakhs of rupees; but Lally demanded one million in money, 600 bullocks for the carriage of artillery and stores, and 10,000 pounds weight of gunpowder [1] in addition the Fort of Tiru-kattupalli, with a view to using it as a base for his intended attack on Trichinopoly. Pratap Singh paid some money to Lally [2] in order to delay the attack on the fort, and applied to the English to send further reinforcements. Lally understood that Pratap wanted to procrastinate things and in order to avoid it ordered his men to charge. The Tanjore king supported by the promises of the English bade defiance, and on the second August, 1758, both opened fire.[3] After five days of artillery duel a breach was at last made in the fort, and while Lally was hesitating whether to continue the operation or not, disappointing news about the arrival of the English fleet off Karaikal disheartened him, and he gave the order to retreat. [4] On the march,

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[1] Orme: *History of Indostan* Vol. II, p. 323.

[2] Ibid, p. 324.

[3] It seems that Pratap Singh was assisted by Sayyid Makhdum Ali Khan and Major Preston and the combined forces completely routed the French with the result that M. Lally reached Pondicherry in a "rotten condition losing all the implements of war and equippage, and entered it sneakingly with his horse deprived of saddle and crapper, ashamed of his own pride, his heart sank within him." Nainar: *Tuzuki-Walajahi* II, pp. 199-200.

[4] Orme: *History of Indostan* Vol, II, p. 327. According to Ananda Ranga Pillai a battle was fought between the Tanjore troops and the French. "When Lally's troops

the Tanjore troops subjected the French to severe hardships, and the mutilated army commanded by the unlucky governor reached Karaikal on the 18th August, 1758.[1]

The collapse of the French power in the Carnatic by the year 1761, left Muhammad Ali, the supreme master of the situation and in order to consolidate his dominions he wanted to suppress the feudatory states under his rule. The existence of the quasi-independent Tanjore Raja was an eye-sore for him, and forgetting the fine response which the Tanjore army gave when he sent forth his ardent importunities for help from the Trichinopoly fort, the Nawab now wanted to set old scores against the king and requested the English to help him in his attempt at conquering Tanjore. The Company did not countenance such a plan as it feared that an attack on Tanjore would embroil them in a struggle with the rest of the native powers[2],

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were about to attempt to scale the walls of the Tanjore fort with the aid of heaps of straw, the Tanjore Raja's troops opened the north gate and attacked M. Lally's provision camp, half an hour before our troops were to move; a severe battle followed, in which five or six Europeans were killed on the Tanjore side, and 500 or 600 Europeans besides three high officers on Lally's side." C. S. Srinivasachari: *Ananda Ranga Pillai*, p. 395.

[1] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 330.

[2] In 1762, the governor wrote to the Nawab that Pratap was a sovereign prince. "I consider the Raja of Tanjore as a sovereign prince; it is a custom when two

and in order to prevent this the English wanted to patch up a peace between the Nawab and the Raja. The expensive war with the French had brought the finances of the Nawab to a low ebb, and in order to replenish the same, he demanded from Pratap Singh all arrears of tribute. Lord Pigot, the governor of Madras, deputed Mr. Josiah Du Pre, the second in Council to settle the terms of the tribute payable to the Nawab. Accordingly it was agreed that the Raja should pay by five instalments in about two years, twenty-two lakhs of rupees in discharge of the outstanding arrears, with a further sum of four lakhs as a present to the Nawab, and also an annual tribute of four lakhs afterwards. The Nawab restored to Pratap, Kovilady and Yelangadu and the Company guaranteed the fulfilment of the treaty.[1] Although the Raja was forced to pay the tribute, his

states disagree, to call in a third to judge between them. I offered myself as such and therefore the treaty must be conducted by me. I act as mediator; the affair cannot according to custom, be discussed in your durbar." The treaty was dictated by Governor Pigot and when the Nawab refused to accept it, "Pigot seized his chop and with his own hand in the Nawab's presence affixed the stamp to the deed." Beckles Willson: *Ledger and Sword*, Vol. II, pp. 165-166. In another letter to the Directors Pigot feared the possible rapproachement between the native states in case Tanjore was attacked by Muhammad Ali. (*Papers relating to the Restoration of the Raja of Tanjore*, Vol. 3).

[1] Aitchison: *Treaties and Engagements*, Vol. X, pp. 70-72.

territorial integrity and sovereignty remained unmolested. But when once the Nawab's avarice was kindled, it did not stop with this treaty, but assumed in course of time greater proportions till finally Tanjore was reduced to a semi-independent state.

Pratap Singh and the Setupati

Although Tanjore successfully interfered in the disputed succession in the Marava land consequent on the death of Vijaya Raghunatha, the adopted son of Kilavan Setupati, yet the traditional quarrel continued, and in 1749 Raja Pratap Singh, sent his general Manaji to conquer the fort of Arantangi. Manaji finding his army insufficient for the task, requested the Tondaiman to supply him with a contingent for which he promised to cede Kiranelli fort. With the help of that force, the Tanjore general successfully captured the fort of Arantangi.[1] But Mr. Nelson gives a different version of the fruit of the expedition, for he says that the Setupati's Dalavay, Velliyan Servaikaran defeated the Tanjore forces and drove them back.[2] If Manaji had conquered the 'debatable land' in 1749, then there was no need for Tanjore to mass her troops once more in 1755 to march into the Maravar country and take possession

[1] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, pp. 402-3.

[2] Nelson: *Madura Manual* Part III, pp. 293-4.

of certain countries which belonged to Pratap Singh.[1] Perhaps the expedition of 1749 might have failed, owing to the siege of Tanjore by Chanda Sahib and hence the proposed second invasion. The Governor wrote to Pratap on this matter thus:—"as this is a time of peace, I think it would be more advisable to endeavour to settle this affair amicably for fear of occasioning new trouble."[2] Moreover the Presidency insisted that the Setupati should restore the lands to Tanjore, but the latter proved evasive. Unable to tolerate the conduct of the Marava chief, the Tanjore king and the Tondaiman who had a grievance against him[3] assisted by Captain Caillaud took the fort and the country.[4]

When Colonel Heron without consulting the Presidency consented for an alliance with the Setupati of Ramnad in return for the offer of two settlements on the sea-coast of his country,[5] the Raja of Tanjore and the Tondaiman wrote a strong letter to the Nawab, protesting against

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[1] *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence*, Military Department 1755, p. 25.

[2] *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence*, 1755, p. 25.

[3] S Radhakrishna Iyer: *A General History of the Pudukottah State*, p. 198.

[4] *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence*, 1765, p. 59.

[5] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 384.

the hasty action of the Colonel. The letter read thus: "We have been your allies for a long time, and exerted ourselves to the utmost. In the time of the troubles we used our endeavours and supplied the fort with provisions with great pain and trouble, in return for which you have protected the Morawar and hindered us from retaking the districts which he had possessed to the prejudice of our honour. If so we should be under the necessity of joining the Mysoreans, and to do what we can to quit our alliance with you. Should the circar troops or those of the English assist the Maravar we should be obliged to fight them."[1] The tone of the letter impressed the Nawab who sent a copy of the same to the President of the Madras Council and pointed out the necessity for keeping friendly relations with Pratap Singh and the Tondaiman. The Nawab further added: "I must observe to you that the king of Tanjore and the Tondaiman are neighbours to the fort of Trichinopoly, who both assisted with provisions in times of war and troubles which supported the people in the fort. If we act the part of an enemy against them, it will be attended with a difficulty to defend the fort as we shall not be able to get even a grain of provisions, which will render me unable to reside here

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[1] *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence*, 1755 p. 24.

with my family. I have before and now wrote to Colonel Heron on this head to the following purport." [1]

As a result of these transactions, orders were despatched to Colonel Heron to suspend negotiations with the Setupati and denounce his friendship with him. But very soon the time came when the English themselves solicited the help of the Marava Chief in their attempt to subdue the Tinnevelly district, and such help they said would cement their friendship.[2] Again in 1758 the Presidency wrote to the Maravar to join them in their attempt to oppose the French, and exhorted him to forget his differences with the Tanjore Raja by cooperating with

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[1] *Letters to Fort St. George: Country Correspondence*, 1755, p. 24.

The letter of the Nawab to Heron read thus:—

"The Maravar acted as an enemy for these five or six years past. We never reaped any advantage from him. We should not lose the king of Tanjore and the Tondaiman by giving protection to the Maravar. The support of the fort of Trichinopoly depends upon their friendship......The reason of my taking so great care to avoid the animosity of the king and the Tondaiman is this, that formerly the country of Trichinopoly remained in our possession. Then we had no occasion to expect provisions from other districts, but now as the Mysorean is in possession of the said country we must depend upon these *viz.*, the king of Tanjore and the Tondaiman's friendship for provisions. I acquaint with what I thought was proper advice." (*Letters to Fort St. George: Country Correspondence* 1755, p. 25).

[2] *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence*, 1757, p. 10.

him in sending his troops.[1] The Setupati agreed to this plan.

For the most part of his reign Pratap carried on a ceaseless struggle with the Tondaiman for the acquisition of the forts of Kiranelli and Tirumayyam.[2] When the Tanjore king demanded the surrender of these forts in 1755, the Tondaiman refused whereupon the Tanjoreans captured from him the villages of Embal, Irumbanadu etc. The Governor of Madras advised them to endeavour to settle their disputes without blood-shed, since they were friends in the late war with the French, and deputed Captain Caillaud to bring about a *modus vivendi* between them.[3] But the Tanjore Raja was too much obsessed with the idea of obtaining the said fortresses, and did not follow the paternal advice of the Governor. While the Presidency was advising both the parties not to resort to war, Pratap Singh peremptorily ordered Manaji to march into the

Pratap Singh and the Tondaiman.

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[1] Ibid 1758, p. 57.

[2] *Fort St. George*: *Diary and Consultation* 1755, p. 130.

Kiranelli was ceded by Manaji to the Tondaiman when the latter helped him against the Setupati in 1749. Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 402. Tirumayyam was conquered back by the Setupati in 1698 from Raja Shahji. Nelson: *Madura Manual*, p. 213.

[3] *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence*, 1755 p. 51.

Tondaiman's country to retake the two forts. The Tondaiman prepared to offer resistance. Because of this tension captain Caillaud made preparations at Trichinopoly as though he intended to take the field against both of them. Manaji lost his confidence, and returned to Tanjore in December 1755 without doing any harm to the Tondaiman.[1]

But Pratap Singh was not the man to leave the Tondaiman rule in peace, and in October 1756, he insisted on Manaji marching against Kiranelli. Captain Caillaud informed the Presidency about the preparations of Manaji and opined that it would be better to feign ignorance of the Raja's designs, because Pratap was determined to get the forts.[2] The Presidency considered his suggestion and concurred with him by saying that "Captain Caillaud should not interfere in what might pass between the king of Tanjore and Tondaiman."[3] Tanjore succeeded in conquering Kiranelli and Pratap said he would recall Manaji.[4] Manaji informed the Governor that the refusal of the Tondaiman to

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[1] Orme: *History of Indostan* Vol. I, p. 403.

[2] *Fort St. George: Diary and Consultation Book* 1756, p. 396.

[3] Ibid 1756, p. 311.

[4] Ibid p. 23. The English congratulated Pratap on the victory and wrote thus: "The skilfulness of your general and the bravery of your troops is known throughout the country. As soon as your army appears the victory is obtained."

abide by the decision of the Nawab and Captain Caillaud which was in favour of Tanjore, impelled him to take possession of the fort as also such territories which formerly belonged to Tanjore.[1] In May 1757, Manaji wrote to the Madras Presidency that the Tondaiman had yet in his possession ten or fifteen villages of the Raja of Tanjore, that he was "preventing the people in the Tanjore country from planting, sowing and tilling the ground with the threat that if they did any of these things he would fall upon them by night, rip up their bellies and fill them with thorns," and that when the people "were persuaded by the Amuldars to carry on the cultivation, the Tondaiman fell upon the inhabitants of one or two villages by night, beat them and carried away their cattle, paddy and seeds."[2] Manaji proposed to take reprisals, and the Presidency unable to do anything in this controversy, informed the Tondaiman that they had once more sent Captain Caillaud to settle their differences.[3]

The Tondaiman came to the succour of Tanjore when Pratap Singh frightened by the approach of Lally, applied for help to his

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[1] Ibid, *Country Correspondence* 1757, p. 22.

[2] *Fort St. George*: *Country Correspondence* 1757, p. 79.

[3] Ibid p. 190.

friends and foes ;[1] but this did not mitigate the innate hostility between them. During the years 1759 and 1760, border disputes arose and the Presidency wanted to arbitrate. When the Tondaiman prepared to build a fort on the Tanjore frontier, Pratap got uneasy, and seized 3,000 heads of cattle in the Tondaiman's country, and plundered the village of Vadakkalur and Kilankadu, lying in the north-eastern frontier of the State. The Tondaiman applied to the Presidency to advise him on the matter, and when he received no letters seems to have taken reprisals. After some time the governor wrote to both the parties (25th April 1760) that Mr. Bourchier, a gentleman of the Madras Council was going to Tanjore to settle the dispute. To him the Tondaiman explained everything and agreed to abide by his decision. Mr. Bourchier was unable to do anything in the matter, for the uncompromising attitude of Pratap Singh and his refusal to give up Kiranelli, stood in the way for a good understanding with the Tondaiman. The result was that Mr. Bourchier, quite in conformity with the Company's policy of compromise, asked the disputants to sink their differences, and unite their armies to destroy their common enemy, the French.

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[1] Orme: *History of Indostan* Vol. II, p. 321.

Pratap Singh died in 1763, and with him the cohesion and independence of the Tanjore kingdom practically vanished. Throughout the period of his rule he tried his level best to preserve the integrity of his country, and his help was needed by the Company and Muhammad Ali[1] and also by Dupleix. His strength was recognized by the English Company, and they used to address him as 'His Majesty'. In fact the Company was, every now and then, feeling the pulse of Pratap lest he should change his affiliations during the critical years of Anglo-French conflict (1746-61). His successors were not men of ability or talent and therefore easily succumbed and lost their power and kingdom. "Want of statesmanlike policy on the part of Maratha leaders and the isolation of Tanjore from the main current of Maratha power alike contributed to the downfall of this small principality."[2] Pratap Singh was succeeded by his son, Tuljaji.

Death of Pratap.

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[1] Muhammad Ali is said to have stated to Pratap, after the siege of Trichinopoly: "It is due to you I am alive. To fulfil my vow on my father's death, surrender to me Chanda Sahib." K. R. Subramanian: *op. cit*, p. 47.

[2] K. R. Subramanian: *op. cit.*, p. 57.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BEGINNING OF THE END.

I. Raja Tuljaji, 1763—1787.

The astonishing rise of Haidar to supremacy over the Mysore State filled him with dreams of extending his dominions by conquering the surrounding parts, and he very soon made himself a great disturber to the tranquillity of the Nizam and the Maratha Kingdoms. These in turn invited the English to assist them in checking the ceaseless incursions of Haidar into their territories. But the Mysore ruler bought off the Nizam and the Marathas, and in 1767 made a descent upon the western regions of the Carnatic. The English made repeated applications for help to their ally, the King of Tanjore; but Tuljaji did not send them any troop. After the departure of Haidar, the Tanjore troops plundered the districts of the Nawab to the north of the Coleroon, thus "rubbing salt over wounds." But Tanjore did not escape the depredations of Haidar and in 1769 he made a plundering raid into that country. He informed Tuljaji that he had lost 30 or 40 lakhs of rupees owing to the latter's help to Captain Richard Smith in taking Karur, and threatened unless a large sum was provided, "not only to burn the whole country, but to cut off the whole body of the inhabitants and

Haidar's invasion of Tanjore 1769.

Brahmans." The Raja got terrified and in order "to save his people's lives he finished the affair with Haidar by paying a trifle" (i. e. 4 lakhs of rupees and 4 elephants). After this event he proposed to the English the desirability of retaliating upon Haidar for this injury and promised to send his troops to help the English. When the Presidency demanded an immediate reinforcement of a body of 3000 horse and 2000 foot Tuljaji temporised and the Madras Council soon found out that he was in collusive agreement with Haidar. Already the Tanjore King had written to Haidar "that he was depending on his firm friendship," and Haidar replied that "he should not imagine that he (Haidar Ali) attended to anything but the destruction of their common enemy (the English) to whom he should send no money or troops."

Relations with Ramnad 1763—71

The traditional enmity between Ramnad and Tanjore continued in Tuljaji's reign. The Setupati was not willing to allow Tanjore to continue to occupy the fort of Arantangi and other parts which Manaji conquered in 1755. In the year 1763, Damodaram Pillai, the Ramnad Dalavay, aided by the chief of Sivaganga, invaded Tanjore and retook all the parts occupied by Tanjore. When the Tanjore Raja wanted to take reprisals, Nawab Muhammad Ali prevailed upon him to postpone

the expedition since he required the help of the Tanjore troops in his projected war against Madura.

In January 1771, hostilities were renewed, and the Raja of Tanjore sent a large army to recover the territory seized by the Ramnad Dalavay, Damodaram Pillai. The Setupati informed the Nawab about the designs of Tuljaji and entreated him to come to his aid. The Tondaiman, also fearing the danger that would threaten him in case Ramnad should fall into the hands of Tanjore, wrote to the Nawab about the plundering activities of the Tanjore troops at Ramnad, about the impossibility of the Ramnad army to fight the Tanjorean, and requested him to help the Setupati. No help was given by the Nawab, and the weak handling of the military machine of the state due to the nonage of the ruler, greatly assisted Tuljaji, whose army capturing one fort after another appeared before the very gates of the Ramnad fort and laid siege to it. The regent Rani of Ramnad came to terms at once according to which the Tanjore Raja was allowed to remain in possession of the tracts conquered by him and to receive one lakh of rupees in specie and 30 thousand rupees in jewels, two large elephants and two pieces of cannon. Having thus obtained the long-coveted prize, the Tanjore army marched against the ruler of

Sivaganga who was, however, directed by the Nawab to resist the invaders. When the Raja returned to the capital, he found he was embroiled in a war with the Nawab.

The truculent attitude of the Tanjore Raja greatly displeased the Nawab, while his plundering expedition into the Marava country was deemed by him to constitute a direct affront to his authority. Thus war began between them. Beneath all these obvious reasons, the real cause for the Nawab's declaration of war against the Tanjore kingdom was his desire to annex the *Raj* into his own dominions. He was not satisfied with the treaty of 1762 which empowered the English to mediate between them in cases of dispute; and the Tanjore Raja on his side entertained very little affection for them. The reasons given by the Nawab for his expedition into Tanjore were the non-payment of tribute, the refusal to assist the Nawab with troops when Haidar invaded the Carnatic, the collusive dealings which Tuljaji had with the Mysoreans and the Marathas, and finally the wanton invasion of Ramnad disregarding the Nawab's advice to the contrary. These charges made by the Nawab against Tuljaji were very flimsy, because he was too much obsessed with the idea of conquering Tanjore. Tuljaji had no alternative but pay a large sum

The Nawab's First Expedition into Tanjore 1771

to Haidar in order to save his country from his depredations, as the Nawab and his English ally did not come to his succour in time. In his friendly attitude with the Maratha Government at Poona which he sedulously cultivated, and in his attempt to get back lost territories from Ramnad, Tuljaji could not be found fault with, nor was he guilty of any grave transgression of the terms of the Treaty of 1762.

The English played only a secondary part to the Nawab in all these and after much correspondence and prolonged discussion, the Madras Council came to the melancholy conclusion that they must assist the Nawab in his proposed expedition against Tanjore. They thought it "most unreasonable that the Rajah should possess the finest part of the country, and yet pay nothing for its defence." The protection the English provided to Tanjore during the ravages by Haidar was not noteworthy in any respect. There is no shadow of doubt in thinking that this expedition undertaken by the Nawab and assisted by the English was a flagrant violation of the treaty of 1762 and had for its purpose the liquidation of the Tanjore *Raj* which could be used to the benefit of both the parties.

The Nawab tried conciliation first and demanded 25 lakhs of rupees as a penalty for

his failure to send any help against Haidar and also the annual tribute which had fallen in arrears. The Raja did not come to any agreement, whereupon an army under Umadat-ul-Umara, the Nawab's son and general Smith marched against Tanjore from Trichinopoly in September 1771. After capturing Vallam, the army arrived in Tanjore and laid siege to the fort. The Tanjore forces which defended it "were neither deficient in knowledge nor activity"[1], and they "offered an amount of resistance which, if it lacked discipline, betrayed no want of resolution or courage."[2] Tuljaji was not able to continue the defence for long and he came an agreement the terms of which were as follows[3]:—

(1) Discharge of the two years' *peshkash* amounting to 8 lakhs of rupees, and also another payment for 32½ lakhs for the expenses of the expedition.

(2) To return to the Setupati whatever lands, money and effects which Tanjore obtained in the war between them in 1771.

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[1] Major Vibart:—*Military History of the Madras Engineers* Vol. I, p. 115.

[2] Venkasami Rao: A *Manual of the District of Tanjore*, p. 798.

[3] Aitchison: *Treaties and Engagements* Vol. X, pp. 73-74.

(3) To help the Nawab with the army when required, free of all charge.

(4) To give up Arni, Tevanur and certain villages in Trichinopoly.

(5) For the liquidation of the sum of 32½ lakhs of rupees agreed to be given towards the expenses of the expedition, the Subhas of Mayavaram and Kumbakonam were made over to the Nawab for a period of two years.

(6) The Raja should befriend the friends and oppose the enemies of the Nawab. The Nawab consented to give up the Vallam fort (to be destroyed) and also Yalangadu and Koviladi.

(7) To guarantee the safety of the person and property of the merchants and people belonging to the Company who have settled in the Tanjore kingdom.

This treaty while it was very humiliating to the Tanjore King, did not satisfy the Nawab's avarice for he looked upon the Tanjore kingdom as a veritable Cl Dorado for specious adventurers and wanted to annex it completely. Very cleverly he foisted fresh charges on the Tanjore king, and accused him for endeavouring to bring the Marathas from Poona to help the rebel subjects of Ramnad and Sivaganga against their chiefs, for granting asylum to

the *palayakars* of Udayarpalayam and Ariyalur, for mortgaging to the Dutch and the Danes the district of Kumbakonam and for refusing to pay the sums as agreed upon by the treaty of 1771. The Nawab wrote a letter to the Governor mentioning all his grievances against the Tanjore Raja and requested prompt and sufficient help from the English in his attempt at reducing the Kingdom for which assistance he agreed to pay them ten lakhs of pagodas. The Council consented to the plan and an army under General Smith marched from Trichinopoly on the 3rd August, 1773 and reached the capital. The Tondaiman was informed by the Nawab that "the Raja of Tanjore still entertained the mania of invading his country" and requested that a large army should be sent by him to curb the Raja's madness.

The Nawab's Second Expedition in 1773 and the Deposition of Tuljaji

[1] "The Presidency viewed the question entirely as one involving the safety of the Karnatik and the interests of the Company. Humiliated and reduced to entire subjection to the Nawab and able no longer to look to them for support, the Raja they thought, would naturally court the intervention and aid of other powers, European as well as Native, in order to throw of his yoke, and was, in the peculiar position he was placed, a source of danger to their government. They accordingly after much discussion, came to the resolution that Tanjore should be reduced, and that that time considered with reference to the political situation of the country generally, was the most suitable for the undertaking." (Venkasami Rao: *Op. cit.*, p. 803).

For some days the combined forces did not begin their operations against Tanjore, but devoted themselves to the capture of the forts of Budalur and Tirukkattupalli. On the 20th August, the enemy's camp at the east face of the fort was surprised and this caused much loss to the Tanjoreans. Operations continued and on the 17th September, the fort was taken owing to an unexpected assault by the English. The Raja and his family, Manaji, the general, and many nobles, were taken prisoners, while the jewels of the Ranis which were seized amounted to many lakhs of rupees. Raja Tuljaji was deposed, and the fort and the country of Tanjore were made over to the Nawab.

Soon after this, the Nawab requisitioned the aid of the English to wrest from the Dutch certain districts of the Tanjore kingdom which were sold by the Raja to them. These consisted of nine maghanams or small revenue units, besides the sea-ports of Nagur and Topputturai and extended twelve miles inland from Negapatam.[1] A detachment under General Smith took these places from the Dutch who offered little resistance.

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[1] The nine maghanams were: Kivalur, Sikkel, Tevur, Sembiyamahadevi, Palakkurichi, Maghilei, Killugudi, Adiyakkamangalam and Tiruppundi.

(Venkasami Rao: *Op. cit.*, p. 804).

Tanjore experienced the worst calamity during the three years when the Nawab controlled the kingdom with his men. These three years may be described as the most lamentable period in the glorious history of Tanjore, for the soldiers of the Nawab subjected the people and the land to indescribable travail.[1] The city of Tanjore was garrisoned by 8000 of the Carnatic troops, and the revenues of the country were made over to the Nawab's creditors like Paul Benfield who peeled the country to its bones. Subjected to starvation and misery, many left the country elsewhere to find food and work.[2] Tanjore kingdom in the full plenitude of prosperity yielded only a revenue of 57½ lakhs of rupees during the reign of Raja Pratap Singh. One can see how much force and what inhuman tactics should have been employed when the Nawab's Government realized the sum of 81 lakhs of rupees in 1774 from the dumb and prostrate inhabitants.[3] Never was spoliation more successfully undertaken.

The interference of the English in Tanjore affairs in order to help the Nawab was made without the knowledge of the Court of Directors and they were incensed at the events which

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[1] Schwartz writing in 1799 says: "In the year 1773 the Nawab found means to usurp the Tanjore country, which he ruined by inhuman exactions."

[2] Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz*, Vol. I, p. 271.

[3] Fullarton: A *View of the English interests in India*: Appendix p. 322.

took place between 1771 and 1776. They expressed their disapproval of the conduct of the Madras Government and enunciated their policy of non-extension of the possession of the Company. "The court were of opinion, that the Governor and Council of Madras were not justified, in 1771, in placing the Company's troops at the disposal of the Nawab, leaving it to him to settle with the Raja as he thought best, and they were much less justified, in 1773, in dethroning the Raja and putting the Nawab in possession of his principality."[1] The Court of Directors immediately ordered the restoration of Raja Tuljaji to the Tanjore throne. Meanwhile in 1775 a quarrel arose between the Nawab and the English Presidency. The English informed the Nawab that Umdat-ul-Umara, who was already managing the District of Trichinopoly should not be allowed either to garrison the fort of Tanjore or collect the revenue of the kingdom. But the Nawab expressed his astonishment[2] and wonder at

Restoration of the Raja (1776)

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[1] Venkasami Rao: *Op. cit.*, p. 806.

[2] The Nawab wrote to the Council of Madras thus: "Such a violent proceeding has not only destroyed the peace of my country and my authority as sovereign, but has also been prejudicial to the honour of the whole English nation. My subjects are all astonished and such confusion has been thrown into my affairs, as prince of this country, as I cannot possibly explain." (*Original papers relating to Tanjore* 1777, p. 57).

the temerity of the English to challenge his authority. Nothing daunted the Presidency, for fully backed with the sanction of the Court, they proceeded to act boldly in their attempt at restoring Raja Tuljaji.

The restoration of Raja Tuljaji entailed a real loss of the sovereignty possessed by him, and he became a puppet ruler. The new treaty deprived him of the small army he had [1] and the Tanjore fort was garrisoned with English troops, for whose maintenance the Raja granted four lakhs of pagoda every year. Furthermore, the Nawab's right to collect tribute was restricted to that fixed by the treaty of 1762 and Tuljaji was directed to request the help of the English even if kallars ravaged the country. Thus the Raja whom the company addressed as 'His Majesty' in 1751 was reduced to the position of a tributary prince. Lastly the treaty forbad him from entering into any alliance with foreign powers without the approval of the English, and also from rendering help to their enemies.

Thus the treaty of 1776 was double edged; on the one hand while restoring the Tanjore

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[1] The famous Missionary, the Rev. C. F. Schwartz, says that in 1768 the Raja had 6000 horse and 2000 foot (*Remains of Schwartz*, p. 77. Letter of 1768).

ruler and thereby satisfying the Court of Directors, it crippled him in reality and destroyed his sovereign powers, and on the other hand it delivered a heavy blow to the authority of the Nawab, who from henceforward became an equally impotent figure with the Tanjore ruler, while the English became in every respect masters of the Carnatic. It was left to Lord Pigot, the Governor of Madras, to perform the most honourable duty of restoring Tuljaji to the throne which was done in April 1776, the Governor himself going to Tanjore to witness the installation ceremony.[1] Raja Tuljaji was much overpowered with gratitude on observing the magnanimous treatment which the English accorded him, and regretted that a thousand tongues could not express his indebtedness to them. In great ecstacy and without realizing the pitiable position in which he was placed, the Raja proclaimed:— "The Country of Tanjore is the Company's. I have only to beg they will preserve my honour."[2] Furthermore, he granted in 1788 to the Company 277 villages known as the *Nagore Settlement* saving the ryot's shares and *inams* to temples, choultries and

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[1] *Original Papers relating to Tanjore*, 1776, p. 53.

[2] Aitchison : *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. X, p. 76.

Brahmans.[1] Thus Tuljaji got back his throne but lost his power and authority partly due to his own weakness but mostly due to external forces which acted with tremendous strength.

The restored Raja was not able to enjoy any continued security, for on the 20th July 1780, Haidar Ali, with a formidable army descended into the Carnatic *Payenghat* through the Chengamma Pass. Slowly extending his depredations, he crossed the Coleroon in May 1781 and entered the Tanjore kingdom. He overran the entire country but was not able to capture the fort of Tanjore thanks to the disasters which attended his army on the way. For a period of about six months, Haidar was the supreme master in the Tanjore kingdom, which was subjected to relentless plunder and destruction by the merciless

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[1] Aitchison: *op. cit.*, Vol. X. pp. 76-77. The 277 villages are classified as under:

Names of Maghanas	Number of villages
Kivalur	41
Síkkel	62
Sempiyamahadevi	34
Palakkurichi	27
Maghilei	27
Killugudi	25
Tevur	31
Adiyakkamangalam	8
Port of Nagore	1
Valivalam Maghanam	21
Total	277

Venkasami Rao: Manual of Tanjore, p. 809.

troops of Mysore. About the atrocities committed by Haidar's soldiers there are many accounts. It seems his men burned and destroyed the villages, cut through the banks of the reservoirs and threw the putrid bodies of murdered fugitives into wells.[1] Throughout the kingdom, he spread desolation. "Even the Gentoo temples which had been hitherto held sacred by all castes were plundered of their swamies or idols by his people of the moorish sect."[2]

Closely following this devastation, famine broke out in the Tanjore country, and the well-known missionary Schwartz observes thus: "As the famine was so great and of so long continuance, those have been affected by it who seemed beyond its reach. A vigorous and strong man is scarcely to be met with; in outward appearance men are like wandering skeletons......when it is considered that Haidar Ali has carried off so many thousands of people[3] and that many thousands have died of

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[1] Charles Stewart:—*Memoirs of Haidar Ali*, p. 33.

[2] Robson:—*Life of Haidar Ali*, p. 122.

[3] Schwartz says that Haidar carried away the children of Tanjore: "Their idols......are taken away, their houses burnt and their cattle driven away; and what afflicts thousand parents unspeakably more is that Haidar sends their best children away (to be turned Muhammadans). All the small boys of eight or nine or ten years he sends to his country." Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz*, Vol. I, pp. 338-39.

"The young boys were afterwards trained to arms and formed the first nucleus of a band of compulsory

want, it is not at all surprising to find desolated villages......such distress I never before witnessed and God grant I never may again."[1] Tajore never recovered from the devastating effects of Haidar's invasion, and a glance at the following table[2] would show how the yield of the country fell considerably.

Year	Gross produce	Govt. share (%)	Price per Kalam. Rs.	a.	p.
1776	7,996,340	56	0	9	0
1777	10,720,272	56	0	5	7
1778	10,671,049	56	0	5	1
1779	10,016,101	56	0	7	6
1780	10,439,057	54	0	4	9
1781	1,578,220	62	0	15	8
1782	1,370,174	56	0	10	7
1783	3,822,612	56	0	13	2
1784	5,336,050	56	0	11	3
1785	6,534,245	58	0	7	4
1786	6 049,430	59	0	6	7
1787	6,598,724	58	0	6	7
1788	6,571,184	55	0	11	6
1789	7,107,437	55	0	9	4
1790	7,994,130	55	0	8	3
1791	7,994,130	55	0	10	0
1792	8,130,162	55	0	11	3
1793	8,791,365	55	0	10	2
1794	8,512,984	56	0	7	0
1795	9,130,929	56	0	5	0
1796	9,049,040	56	0	5	5

converts from Hinduism to Islam—a band which was largely augmented in the time of Tippu Sultan under the title of Chela or disciple battalions." (Bowring: *Haidar Ali*, p. 75. Rulers of India series).

[1] Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz*, Vol. I, pp. 348-350.

[2] *Report of the Commission of* 1799, p. 15.

From the table it becomes obvious that in 1780, the year preceding the irruption of Haidar's troops, the gross yield was 10,439,057 kalams, while the Government demand and the price per kalam were the lowest when compared to all other years. During 1781 when Haidar's troops ravaged the kingdom, the gross yield fell to 1/7th of the yield of 1780, while the government demand and the price per kalam were the highest. The yield remained at its nadir up to the year 1784 from where it showed signs of improvement. The low yield was due to the fact that owing to the destruction of all embankments and channels by Haidar's troops, large areas of lands went out of cultivation.[1] Since there was no work and food, such of the husbandmen and artisans[2] who escaped emigrated to the country above the ghats and took shelter in the woods north of the Coleroon or in the Tondaiman's country.[3] To rehabilitate the pros-

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[1] "A most luxuriant crop with which the ground was at that time covered was instantly swept off, and every water dyke and embankment totally destroyed." Fullarton: *A View of English Interests in India*, p. 96.

[2] "It is said that Haidar Ali, while returning from his expeditions against Madras, forcibly brought with him twenty-five families of Patnulkara weavers, who were living in the Tanjore district......The industry flourished till the fall of Seringapatam."

Thurston: *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI, p. 163.

[3] Venkasami Rao: *A Manual of Tanjore District*, p. 813.

perity of the government, a new and oppressive system of revenue collection was introduced by Bava Pandit, the minister of Tuljaji which completely impoverished the inhabitants.[1]

Disputes between Tanjore and the Tondaiman 1776-85

The quarrel between Tuljaji and the Tondaiman regarding the possession of Kiranelli and other forts continued, and in 1776, the former complained to the Madras Governor that the Tondaiman was committing outrages and making daily encroachments on his country, and requested his intercession. As against this the Tondaiman represented to the Nawab that Tuljaji, because of the countenance given by Lord Pigot, had invaded his country and molested his people and requested him to arbitrate. But in 1781, on the orders of Colonel Braithwaite, the Tondaiman captured the forts of Kiranelli, Pattukottai and Arantangi. Meanwhile the war in the Carnatic was continued by Tippu Sultan, 'a much more enterprising soldier than his father Haidar.' In February 1782, Colonel Braithwaite who was in command of the English army was surprised by Tippu near Kumbakonam, and after twenty-six hours of fighting, the detachment was completely defeated. Tippu's men plundered the surrounding parts, and the Raja of Tanjore wrote to the Governor at Madras on June 26th, 1783 that

[1] See Chapter on Administration.

"the depredations of the enemy's horse for six or seven months past had not extended to Mayour and Cumbeconum", that "the people in consequence were assembling again in those districts", but that in June "the enemy crossed the Coleroon, plundered the districts of Mayour and Shiyally, plundered Cumbeconam completely, wounded several people and carried away several women, spread themselves over the country and were causing devastation in a manner not to be described."[1] The Company was unable to come to a quick decision on the matter and it was therefore shelved for sometime to come.

Death of Tuljaji 1787

Towards the end of his life, when the mortal mists slowly gathered their shadowy curtains, Raja Tuljaji became despondent and melancholic. He had lived through a life of struggle, and lacking the capacity to get over the most disappointing situations had become overwhelmed with affliction. Twice Haidar Ali had invaded his kingdom, and his second expedition in 1781 had such disastrous effects that the country almost groaned under the weight of economic distress. Twice the Nawab, claiming the rights of overlordship in order to gratify

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[1] Schwartz says: "Having carried twelve thousand children captive from Tanjore, he (Tippu) compelled them all to become Muhammadans." Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz*, Vol. I, p. 375.

his avarice, had come upon him, and in the second expedition, Tuljaji was overthrown, and made a prisoner. Added to these difficulties the premature death of his only son, a daughter and a grandson filled him with intense remorse and agony. His public embarrassments and his private sorrows coupled with the painful condition of his fair kingdom desolated by war and famine distressed him most, and he became a recluse. But before his death, he wanted to adopt some one to succeed him, and for that purpose he chose Serfoji (Sarabhoji) from a collateral branch, and appointed his brother Amar Singh as regent till the boy came of age. In order to train the boy in the proper way he requested Rev. Father Schwartz to become his guardian. "This is not my son" declared the Raja to the missionary, "but yours: into your hand I deliver him......I appoint you guardian to the child."[1]

Raja Tuljaji died in 1787 in his forty-ninth year. His reign which lasted for twentyone years witnessed the gradual decline in the authority and majesty of the king. He was very learned and was also a linguist. In his religious views he was eclectic and broad-minded and this is evident from the way in which he treated the missionary Schwartz, who even entertained hopes of converting him. When Schwartz met

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[1] Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz* Vol. II, p. 53.

Tuljaji in 1769, for the first time he was favourably impressed with the Raja, but greatly resented the influence the Brahmans had over him. With the lapse of years Tuljaji lost all interest in the administration of the country and gave himself up to a life of dissipation and luxury.[1] He became vindictive in his actions, and had his worthy minister, Dabir Pandit dismissed. The minister was a stabilizing factor in the kingdom, and his dismissal greatly infuriated the Nawab who was a friend and admirer of Dabir Pandit. But soon the minister was recalled to his office and permitted to continue in the task of reorganising the revenue system. To conclude, Raja Tuljaji was a weak king and had neither personality nor strength of character. Consequently external forces contributed substantially to tone down the power of monarchy, and the country was subjected to the depredations of foreign invaders. But we must also remember that his inability to defend his country was due to giant circumstances over which he had no control.

II. Raja Amar Singh. A. D. 1787-1798.

Tuljaji appointed Amar Singh alias Ramaswamy, the son of a left-handed wife of Pratap

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[1] Ibid Vol. I, p. 283.

"He has married more wives—lives a sensual life, and indulges much, as his people say, in drunkenness. He is surrounded with bad people." Ibid p. 296.

Singh as protector and regent to his adopted son Sarabhoji during his minority. The English Company found that the time was most propitious to impose a new treaty on the regent which they thought would permanently secure the defence and protection of the Tanjore kingdom. According to this treaty it was stipulated that the Rajah should make an annual contribution of four lakhs of pagodas; but if the revenue of the state increased the contribution should also rise correspondingly. If this amount was not paid at the proper time, then the English were given power to appoint their own superintendents over the Subhas of the kingdom for the collection of the said sum. In case war broke out in the Carnatic then the Raja should pay 4/5 of his revenues till such time the war lasts, and the general contribution of 4 lakhs of pagodas will remain in abeyance. The Raja should also pay annually the sum of 3 lakhs of pagodas towards the liquidation of the arrears of *peshcush* due to the Nawab, and also the creditors of the king. This amount and the annual tribute of 4 lakhs of pagodas already mentioned should be paid into the English coffers by the Raja.[1]

The Treaty of 1787.

The burden of meeting so many charges from the revenues of the state disheartened

[1] Aitchison : *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. X, pp. 78-83.

Raja Amarsingh, and he was not able to pay them regularly. The misery of the people became intense on account of the exorbitant rates demanded by the Government, while the difficulties in the revenue collection and the open corruption of the State servants became very pronounced. In order to eke out the affection of the people, the Raja raised the *kudivaram* and granted extensive lands as *Inams* to favourites and religious men. The *Pattack* system[1] introduced in the reign of Raja Tuljaji did not in any way improve agricultural conditions. During the war with Tippu Sultan the Company found it necessary to take up the task of collecting the revenue in the Tanjore District. In the years 1790 and 1791 the Company appointed its *Dubashes* to collect the revenue, and this system was not very successful for the *Dubashes* proved to be tyrannical and utilized every means to enrich themselves. These circumstances convinced the Company how difficult it was for the Tanjore kingdom to make the stipulated contributions, and therefore in 1792 another treaty was concluded with the Raja.

Treaty of 1792

According to this treaty it was stipulated that the Raja should pay during peace-time three and a half lakhs of pagodas, while the payments towards the liquidation of the Nawab's *peshcush* and

[1] See Chapter on Administration.

also private debts were put at 50,000 pagodas and 60,000 pagodas respectively.[1] When the last two items were liquidated, the total annual payment to be made to the Company was fixed at 4, 64, 285 pagodas. If the Rajah failed to pay the said amount, the Company was authorised to assume the management of any or all of certain specified districts[2] and collect the revenue thereof. During war-time the Company was to possess full authority over the country, collect the revenue, and pay for the expenses of the Rajah one lakh of pagodas annually as also one share of the net revenue. The Raja also agreed to pay 11,000 pagodas for the support of the adopted son of Tuljaji and also 3000 pagodas for the maintenance of the widows of the late king.[3]

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[1]

	Pagodas
Ordinary peace contribution	3,50,000
Payment in discharge of arrears of peshkash	50,000
Payment in discharge of private debts.	60,000
	4,60,000

[2]

Mannargudy (net revenue)	2,45,198
Trivady	1,49,609
Mayavaram	1,64,668
Pattukottai	27,638
	5,87,113

Aitchison: *op. cit.*, Vol. X, p. 89.

[3] Ibid, pp. 84-89.

Speaking about this treaty, Schwartz says: "But the conditions were rather hard, so that he will not be able to comply with them."

Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz* Vol. II, p. 183.

This treaty reduced Amar Singh to a mere figure-head; for having no voice at all in determining external relations, and without a substantial army, together with the loss of the power to collect the revenue of the land, there was precious little for the king to call his own. If war should break out he was to become a pensioner depending on the bounty of the English Government and the country passed under the control of the Company. Thus slowly but steadily the English by these treaties deprived the Tanjore king of his sovereignty and made him a dependent. These transactions were made in spite of the Nawab who was then the *defacto* overlord of the Carnatic.

Amar Singh and Sarabhoji.

Although Amar Singh was appointed regent to Sarabhoji, yet he was not satisfied with his status and aimed at securing the throne for himself. His friends exhorted him to make representations to the Governor of Madras, Sir Archibald Campbell, and convince him of the injustice of excluding him from the immediate succession to the throne on the mere ground of his inferior birth which, according to the laws prevailing among the Marathas, did not entail any definite inferiority of status or rights, particularly in succession to property. When the matter was referred to Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, he sent instructions to the

Madras Government to inquire whether the pundits and principal people of Tanjore considered the adoption valid or whether they negatived it, in which case Amar Singh would be the rightful ruler. In pursuance of these instructions Sir Archibald Campbell proceeded to Tanjore in April 1787, and convened twelve pundits whose opinion he solicited about the adoption of Sarabhoji by the late Raja Tuljaji and the right of Amar Singh to the throne. Already Amar Singh had influenced the twelve pundits with the result that they unanimously returned the answer 'that the adoption of Sarabhoji was illegal and invalid and the right of Amar Singh to the throne clear and undoubted.' In consequence of this resolution, Sir Archibald Campbell set aside the claims of the adopted son and raised to the musnud Amar Singh. The new king at the close of the Coronation ceremony promised the Governor to attend to the welfare of the people, administer justice properly, and protect the rights of Sarabhoji, the adopted son of his late brother Tuljaji.

Amar Singh acted grossly contrary to the promises he made to the Company[1] and very soon the degeneracy that came on the administration was glaringly seen. The inordinate

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[1] "His brother is put on the throne; but he goes on in such a manner, that it is to be feared he will not be able to fulfill the engagement made with the Company." Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz* Vol. II, p. 65.

nature of the administration forced the king to raise loans at exorbitant rates of interest. Justice was totally neglected, and *Sar-i-Khel* Shiva Rao decided cases according to his fancy and according to the bribe given by the parties.[1] The country was given to the management of five or six rapacious agents of the king who demanded high rates from the people and appropriated the entire revenue for themselves. As a result of this, the treasury always remained empty and Amar Singh was not able to fulfill his obligations to the Company. When Schwartz was requested by the Madras Government to give his advice, he expressed his sentiments thus : "Not being able to bear such oppression (alluding to the conduct of the Rajah's managers) the inhabitants have often quitted their houses. Even a few days since many of the principal people addressed you, imploring the Company's protection. The present Sir Keel, Shiva Rao has neither intellect nor integrity to manage the country. The revenue is spent or squandered away, so that, at the least they can give no account of it. As the Raja is not versed in reading or Arithmetic, he knows nothing but what his servants are pleased to tell him."[2] The ruler was obviously a tool in the hands of his minister who

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1 Ibid p. 80.

2 Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz* Vol. II, p. 125.

handled the administrative machinery as he pleased.

While thus neglecting the administration of the couutry, Amar Singh became increasingly hostile in his relations with Sarabhoji[1] and the widows of the late Raja Tuljaji. He brought strange and fantastic charges against them and tried his utmost to do away with them. The death of his son-in-law, the husband of his only child, was ascribed by the king to have been engineered by the widows of his brother, and alleged that they compassed their wicked design with the help of a magician. He further charged them for conspiring against his own life, and for hiring a Pujari to do the same. After condemning the Pujari to be hanged for the alleged witchcraft, he caused a proclamation to be publicly read under the windows of the Bye Sahib's residence accusing them of instigating the wretched man to this atrocious crime. Amar Singh's ill-treatment of Sarabhoji increased as years rolled on and by 1792 it became so pronounced that the boy wrote a letter to his guardian requesting him to take him away

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[1] "He (Sarabhoji) was reduced to this deplorable state by a series of acts which sufficiently convinced that the intention of those who directed them was to remove the boy, whose right they considered the only obstacle to the Rajah's quiet possession of the throne."

Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz* Vol. II, p. 273.

from the palace.[1] Schwartz influenced the Madras Government to order the release of his ward and the widows of the late Raja from the clutches of Amar Singh. On the 10th of January 1793, the adopted son and his mothers, escaped from the palace and accompanied by their faithful friend and protector safely reached the Presidency.

Vindication of Sarabhoji's claim

From this time Schwartz began demanding the Company to enquire into the negation of Sarabhoji's claims. He wrote a letter to Lord Cornwallis in which he informed the Governor-General that the so-called objection of Amar Singh to the claims of Sarabhoji were wholly unfounded[2] and requested him to consider the case of his unfortunate pupil. He appealed to

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[1] " I will not again explain the various vexations which I have hitherto suffered from Ameer Singh, Maha Raja, because you know them and have mentioned them to Government......That I still live, I owe to the kindness of Government......He continues to torment us. My teachers he prevents from coming to me......I entreat you to send this my letter to the honourable Board, and to beseech them either to call me to Madras, which I heartily wish, or to put a guard of Europeans near the gate to protect me and my two mothers; or to give me a room out of the fort, in your garden. I entreat you to lay my grief before the honourable Board. Now they can help me, and I trust that they will protect me." Letter of Sarabhoji to Schwartz.

Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz* Vol. II.

[2] Ibid, pp. 263-265.

the Government in the name of British Justice, to investigate into the matter. On account of these loud protestations, the whole matter was thoroughly examined, and the Board decided in favour of Sarabhoji and declared Amar Singh's claims null and void.[1] But before the decision of the Court of Directors could be obtained to this effect Schwartz died.

Prior to placing Sarabhoji on the musnud it was considered desirable to get his consent to certain stipulations which alone it was thought would guarantee the just administration of the country as also the regular payment of the amount due to the Company. The Earl of Mornington, on whom devolved the carrying out of these instructions, ordered the immediate deposition of Amar Singh and the raising of Sarabhoji to the musnud after getting his assent to certain provisions.[2] The most important of these provisions were first, that the king should consent to the appointment of a Commission to investigate into the condition of the Tanjore

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[1] Mr. Dundas, President of the Board of Control wrote these memorable words: "It must be recollected that we are in a great degree the authors of this injustice. It was produced by our interference, contrived through the misrepresentations and corruptions of the person who is now reaping the benefit of it; and the rightful heir has a great claim that we should interfere to remedy that injustice which originated in our interference."

[2] *Wellesley Despatches* Vol. I, pp. 41-47.

country; secondly that he should acquiesce in the conditions made by the Commission for "the better management of his country, and particularly for the due administration of justice, as also for securing to the Company the more regular discharge of their existing and future demands"; and thirdly that he should promise protection to the persons of Amar Singh and his family and grant a suitable allowance for their maintenance.

Considering the youth and lack of experience in administrative affairs of Raja Sarabhoji, the Governor-General came to the conclusion that "it would be equally conducive to his interests and to those of the Company that...Sarabhoji should consent to transfer the entire charge of the country of Tanjore to the Government of Fort St. George for a period of one or more years after his accession, that Government engaging to be accountable to him for whatever should be collected from the country beyond the amount of the annual sum due to the Company under the treaty of 1792, and also affording him a sufficient allowance for the maintenance of his rank." Lord Mornington also made it a point to stress "that the inclination of Sarabhoji should dictate the arrangement and that no other means than those of advice and persuation should be used to induce him to propose such a measure; the proposal must come from

himself in a formal manner and must originate in his conviction of the utility of the arrangement to his permanent welfare."[1] Sarabhoji " agreed to the treaty of 1792 and to such other arrangements as may be mutually agreed upon for the honour and interest of both parties"[2] and with the deposition of Amar Singh in June 1798, Sarabhoji was installed on the Tanjore throne. Commenting on the whole transaction, the Governor-General in his letter to the Court of Directors dated 21st November 1798, writes thus: "It was a great satisfaction to me to learn from the Government of Fort St. George, that this signal act of *justice* took place without occasioning any disturbance at Tanjore."[3] Amar Singh was sent to Madhyarjunam, six miles east of Kumbakonam where he lived until his death in 1802 in the enjoyment of an allowance of 25,000 pagodas per annum out of the revenues of Tanjore.[4]

There is nothing extraordinary in the character of Amar Singh to arrest our attention. He succeeded to a throne whose majesty was fast declining and whose sovereignty was

[1] *Wellesley Despatches*, Vol. V, Supplement, page 48. Letter dated 10th June 1798.

[2] *Wellesley Despatches*, Vol. V, pp. 92-93.

[3] Ibid p. 352.

[4] Venkasami Rao: *op. cit.*, p. 823.

slowly liquidated by the ever-increasing demands made by the Company. Being illiterate he was not able to continue even that patronage of men of learning for which his predecessors had earned a name. Having no knowledge of the administration of the country he was content to hand it over to his minister who, taking advantage of the apathy of the king, began to oppress the people and reduce them to sore straights. The king's reliance on his minister, *Sar-i-Khel* Shivarao greatly ruined the country, for the minister not only appropriated the treasures of the palace to himself, but unnecessarily squandered away the revenue of the state with the result that huge loans had to be raised. Many inhabitants had to leave the country in order to escape the tyranny of the merciless minister. This state of oppression inaugurated by Shiva Rao due to Amar Singh's negligence and as depicted by Schwartz is a little bit exaggerated for the Comission of 1799, while speaking about the laxity and corruption of Amar Singh's Government, was strongly impressed with the view that the Mirasdars enjoyed more advantages and that the administration was neither tyrannical nor painful. They found the notion, which then prevailed, of the emigration of the inhabitants from Tanjore during the administration of Amar

Character of Amar Singh

Singh to be purely visionary; the fact, as they reported, was, that the inhabitants of the adjoining provinces had, in consequence of the oppressive Government of the Nawab, taken refuge in Tanjore.[1]

Sir David Baird, the hero of Seringapatam looked upon Amar Singh as "the undoubted heir" to the throne of Tanjore and Sarabhoji as "an unknown foundling", and accused the Governor-General and the East India Company for their arbitrary exercise of barefaced power in dethroning the former.[2] Raja Amar Singh bore patiently the humiliations imposed upon him by the Company by its treaties, and saddled with the responsibility of meeting enormous financial obligations, continued to rule the Principality heavily handicapped. "Even a more competent person could not have ruled more successfully with an overgrown burden on his revenues and the everchanging attitude of the Company."[3] When in 1793, the administration of the country was restored to him Amar Singh was not able to carry it on and therefore had to rely on the assistance of Shiva Rao, who was forced to manipulate the budget by borrowing and by

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[1] Venkasami Rao: *op. cit.*, p. 824.

[2] Basu: *Rise of the Christian Power in India*, p. 354.

[3] K. R. Subrahmanyan: *Maratha Rajas of Tanjore*, p. 70.

other means less honourable. The king did everything he could to win the sympathy of the people, but did not succeed very much. But there is absolutely no questioning about the fact that Amar Singh was a mediocre ruler and therefore it may be doubted whether he might have achieved anything better under more favourable circumstances.

CHAPTER IX.

THE END.

I. Raja Sarabhoji II A.D. 1798—1833

The *protége* of Schwartz when he was restored to the musnud in June 1798, found there was nothing to attract him in his position as ruler and was therefore very willing to resign the administration of the country into the hands of the Company, himself content to live with an ample pension and a due recognition of his rank and dignity as a ruler, with jurisdiction over the Tanjore city and Vallam. To that effect he entered into a treaty with the Company in October 1799, the terms of which were as follows. Tanjore became part of the Madras Presidency and the Company agreed to pay to the Raja a fixed annual allowance of one lakh of pagodas, with a fifth of the net revenues of the country. Provision was also made to continue the allowance agreed on, to Amar Singh and his family. It was also decided "with a view to the accommodation and satisfaction of His Excellency, that the said fort of Tanjore shall be evacuated by the Company's troops entirely and that His Excellency shall be at full liberty to garrison the said fort in such manner as to him shall seem fit."[1] Sara-

Treaty of 1799.

[1] Aitchison: *op. cit.*, Vol. X, pp. 90-94.

bhoji and his son Shivaji exercised their authority within the fort, and they were permitted to retain a number of villages and lands with the palaces situated in the different parts of the country.' On the request of Sarabhoji, the Madras Government gave him the title of 'His Highness', instead of 'His Excellency' which the Raja thought was degrading to his high lineage.

It may be observed that the year 1799 saw the end of the independent Tanjore Maratha kingdom, and ushered in the rule of the Company. The latter had already proposed to establish a permanent revenue and judicial system for the kingdom over which the Raja should have no control. The ground had been thus prepared for the final absorption of Tanjore into the Company's dominions and a Governor-General like Wellesley was not the person to lose the opportunity by delaying action. The Company's connections with the Tanjore country were not particularly creditable either to its statesmanship or its good faith;[3] but still the situation demanded the absorption of Tanjore. Sarabhoji was shrewd enough to realize that without control over revenue and army, his rule would be only in name; and he therefore contented himself with demanding a sufficient pension and provision for maintaining his rank and dignity.

[3] P. E. Roberts: *India under Wellesley*, p. 111.

Literary activities of Sarabhoji.

Though deprived of his sovereignty, Sarabhoji did not remain idle in the palace, but made his court the centre of culture and literary activities. His intimate association with the missionary Schwartz and the training in western literature and science he had under him enabled him to appreciate literature and encourage learning wherever it was to be found. "The young man is of a very docile, affectionate and gentle disposition; at least he has given proofs of it hitherto. I have often explained to him the doctrines of the holy Scriptures, and set before him the examples of real goodness which it records."[3] By the advice of the missionary he learnt the English language and was able to express himself and write tolerably in that tongue.[4] His knowledge widened his outlook and increased his interest in a variety of subjects. The great task which he now undertook was the collection of old records and printed books, and the *Sarasvathi Mahal Library* wherein all these have since been housed is one of the finest repositories of ancient learning. The Library contains more than 22,000 manuscripts mostly in Sanskrit; and they deal with a variety of subjects as Vedanta, Kavya, Grammar, Music, Dancing, Architec-

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[3] Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz*, Vol. II, p. 202.

[4] "The education he received during the time of his adversary was far superior to that of Asiatics in general. He speaks the English language with fluency and propriety." Lord Valentia: *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 354.

ture, Astronomy and Medicine. There are hundreds of palm-leaf manuscripts dealing with the Nayak and Maratha times.

Sarabhoji seems to have taken a fancy for collecting interesting articles which impressed the foreign observers. Mr. Robinson who was the Domestic Chaplain to Bishop Heber and who accompanied him on his southern tour (1826) records thus: "The Rajah received us in his library, a noble room with three rows of pillars and handsomely furnished in the English style. On one side there are portraits of the Maratha dynasty from Shahji to Shivaji, ten book-cases containing a very fair collection of French, English, German, Greek and Latin books, and two others of Maratta and Sanskrit manuscripts. In the adjoining room is an air-pump, an electrifying machine, an ivory skeleton, astronomical instruments, and several other cases of books, many of which are on the subject of medicine, which was for some years his favourite study. He showed us his valuable collection of coins, paintings of flowers and natural history with each of which he seemed to have considerable acquaintance."[5] Sarabhoji had also a printing press with Devanagiri type which was set up at Tanjore in 1805[6]. He was also fond of constructing buildings. At Saluvanayakan Pattanam he

[5] Hickey: *Tanjore Maratha Principality*, p. 115.
[6] Sewell: *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I, p. 278.

constructed the tower Manora in commemoration of the victory of the English over Napoleon in 1814. At Setubavasatram and Pattukottai he erected two columns with the following inscription: "His Highness Maharaja Sarafoji of Tanjore, the friend and ally of the British Government, erected this column to commemorate the triumphs of the British arms and the downfall of Bonaparte in A. D. 1814."[7]

Sarabhoji was a very pious and religious-minded man; and when he was reinstated on the Tanjore throne in 1798, he presented (as a mark of thanks-offering to the Almighty) to the Big Temple many jewels and silver vessels.[8] The Rajah also repaired certain portions of the corridor on the north prakara of the Temple[9], while a tank called Manduka-tirta in the same place was rebuilt with stone-facings and steps.[9a] We also learn that Sarabhoji rebuilt the Ardha-mandapa, the Maha-mandapa and the Garbhagriha of the Ganesa shrine[10] in the Big Temple and installed a new image of the deity thereof. Like the other kings who immortalized the memory of their dear ones by the construction of monumental buildings, Sarabhoji also, in order to show his affection for Muktamba, a concubine of his who predeceased him, had tanks dug on the high road to

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[7] Ibid p. 283.

[8] No. 422 of 1924: *Report on South Indian Epigraphy.*

[9] Nos. 415, 416, 417, *Ibid.*

[9a] No. 419, *Ibid.*

[10] No. 420 of 1924

Rameswaram and established a feeding-house at Orathanad, which he named as Muktambal Chattram.[11] Here he also constructed two sacrificial halls which were consecrated by the performance of Vedic sacrifices.[12] From another record we learn that Maharaja Sarabhoji performed the consecration ceremony of the Goddess Brihadamba at Devikapuram in the Arni jaghir[12] with which the dynasty had been closely associated.

Contemporary accounts of Sarabhoji.

The accounts given by foreign travellers who visted Tanjore during the reign of Sarabhoji bear ample testimony to his culture and pleasant manners Besides Schwartz, the Reverend Dr. Claudius Buchanan, Bishop Middleton, Bishop Heber and Lord Valentia visited Tanjore and were much impressed with the Raja. Buchanan visited Tanjore eight years after the death of the venerable Schwartz, whose portrait was shown to him by Sarabhoji. He was shown round the college that he had started for the education of Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians and was also presented with a catalogue containing the list of books available in the *Sarasvathi Mahal Library*. He also listened to the

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11 *Report on South Indian Epigraphy*, 1924, p. 121.

12 *M. E. R.* 1911, p. 90.

13 No. 298 of 1912.

Rajah's bandsmen who played upon eight or more *vinas* with other instruments.

Lord Valentia, a nobleman who visited the East in the years 1803–6, gives a most beautiful picture of Sarabhoji and the palace. After describing how he was raised to the musnud, he wrote about his interview with him as follows: "Twelve was the hour appointed for visiting the Rajah and we were punctual to our time. On entering the great fort I was saluted with 17 guns and found his guards drawn out who presented arms; they were remarkably neatly dressed and in a good state of discipline. The palace is an old building with several lofty towers, surrounded by a high wall. The great square into which we first entered has never been finished. The passages that led to the durbar were narrow, and soon obliged us to quit our palanquins. The moment I came in sight he arose from his musnud and met me at the door of the durbar; he shook hands, and in very good English expressed his high delight at having the honour of receiving me at his palace. He then took my hand, and led me to a chair on the right of his musnud......The facility and propriety with which he expressed himself in English was to me a great satisfaction. It was the first time I had been able to converse with a native prince except through an interpreter......The Rajah's manners are excellent, and good nature beams from his countenance. He is young, fat and handsome,

with a full black beard and rather a fair complexion."[14]

The Raja then took his visitor to the picture gallery of his palace about which we get the following account: "He next conducted me to a room he called his drawing room; the walls were covered with paintings and pictures of every possible kind; it was furnished with English chairs and tables; and on the latter were paper, colours and every implement of drawing, another amusement of which he is very fond. In short, it seems to me that he passes his life in a course of rational amusement and study. How different from the generality of Asiatic princes who are either slaves to ambition or sunk in the debauchery of the harem." Then the Rajah conducted him to the public durbar hall for administering justice which was a lofty and large room. Lord Valentia also inspected Sarabhoji's workshop, where he found a (whimsical) carriage, with an octagonal body having six wheels.[15]

Another remarkable traveller, Bishop Heber, with his Domestic Chaplain Robinson, visited Tanjore in 1806 and records his impressions of Sarabhoji thus: "The Rajah is a strong built and very handsome middle-aged man, with eyes and nose like a fine hawk and very bushy gray mustaches, generally splen-

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14 Lord Valentia: *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 358.

15 *Ibid*, p. 361.

didly dressed, but with no effeminacy of ornament, and looking and talking more like a favourable specimen of a French general officer, than any other object of comparison which occurs to me." The Bishop was also strongly struck by the superior knowledge of English literature which the Rajah possessed and says: "The truth is that he is an extraordinary man, who having in early youth received such an education as old Schwartz, the celebrated Missionary, could give him, has ever since continued in the midst of many disadvantages, to preserve his taste for, and extend his knowledge of English literature while he has never neglected the active exercise and frank soldierly bearing which became the descendant of the old Mahratta conquerors. Had he lived in the days of Haidar, he would have been a formidable ally or enemy, for he is, by the testimony of all in his neighbourhood, frugal, bold, popular and insinuating."

The Bishop also saw the various collections of Sarabhoji as the air-pump, the electrifying machine, the ivory skeleton, astronomical instruments and several books on medicine. He was also shown the statue of the Raja made by Flaxman. The Bishop found the Raja to be a real good judge of horses and a cool, bold and deadly shot at a tiger. "His stables contain several fine English horses, but that of which he is justly

proud, as the rarest curiosity of an Indian court, is an English printing-press, worked by native Christians, in which they struck off a sentence in Mahratta in the Bishop's presence in honour of his visit."

II. Raja Shivaji–A. D. 1833-1855.

The pale and sickly son of Sarabhoji succeeded him in 1833 and ruled for twenty-two years, after which the Tanjore principality, lapsed to the British Government on the ground of failure of natural heirs by the application of the Doctrine of Lapse. From his boyhood Shivaji was wayward and self-willed so that his father was not able to give him a good education. Bishop Heber offered his services to train the young prince, but the Rani who was too fond of her only son, refused to allow him to be taken away by the Bishop.[16] But the father's love dwindled in course of time and he became indifferent to him with the result that he was kept more like a state prisoner under restraint than treated as the heir to the musnud. It must be said to the credit of Shivaji that he was manly and open-

[16] Bishop Heber concludes rightly: "So poor Sevajee must chew beetle, and sit in the Zenana, and pursue the other amusements of the common race of Hindu princes, till he is gathered to those heroic forms, who, girded with long swords, with hawks on their wrists, and garments like those of the king of spades, adorn the principal room in the palace."

hearted, but exceedingly capricious and self-willed; two leading features of his character were an infatuation for his favourites and a lavishness in bestowing gifts and benefits on them.[17] The Prince had a large zenana to boast and named it "Mangala Vilas."

Shivaji died in October 1855, without male heir direct or collateral; and according to the decision of the Court of Directors, the title and dignity of the Raj became extinct. The Directors enunciated in their despatch of April 1856, the doctrine that "by no law or usage has the daughter of a Hindu Rajah any right of succession to the throne", and that it was "entirely out of the question that we should create such a right for the sole purpose of perpetuating a titular principality at a great loss to the public revenues."[18] The Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, had previously minuted that he was "not dealing in the case of Tanjore with a dependent sovereignty, but with a tributary state left without any lawful successor and therefore a dead sovereignty which had come to a natural end." He was of opinion that to restore the Raj was unwise, but that the members of the family should be treated with great liberality and kindness. He refused

17. Venkasami Rao : *op. cit.*, p. 827.

18. "This strange doctrine has no validity whatsoever, for there are ample instances where females have succeeded to the throne." Hickey : *Tanjore Maratha Principality*, pp. 142-143.

to recognise either the senior widow or the survivor of the two daughters of the dead ruler as his successor; and he confiscated the jaghirs belonging to the mother of the deceased Rajah and yielding three of lakhs rupees annually to her.[19] Mr. Forbes, the Resident at Tanjore, seized the private property of the Raja and took possession of all the jewels, the valuable dresses, the private armoury, the library and the furniture and auctioned them. Later on, the Government of Viscount Canning decided that the whole property, real and personal, with the exception of what were strictly insignia of royalty, should be restored to the family.[20] Accordingly it was done; and in 1860, when Government sanctioned the arrangements in connection with the settlement of the affairs of the family, the number of pensioners came to 4912 and the amount to be spent on the monthly pensions was fixed at Rs. 45,535.[21]

Thus ended the last ruling dynasty that governed the Tanjore country from 1676 onwards. As one reviews the colourful history of Tanjore from the days of the great Cholas, one becomes aware of the progressive deterioration that came upon the kingdom with the lapse of years. The power of the Nayak

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19 C. S. Srinivasachari: *Bell's Empire in India*; Introduction, p. 55.

20 Venkasami Rao: *op. cit.*, p. 829.

21 C. S. Srinivasachari: *Bell's Empire in India*, p. 58 Introduction.

rulers was not so great as that of the Cholas and the later Maratha rulers were far from being kingly. It is but natural that when they lost their martial qualities they also lost their right to rule.[22] It may be that the appropriation of the Tanjore Raj by the British Government was an unjust one[23] and was necessitated by political expediency; but we must remember that at a time when a need arose for strong rulers to conduct safely the state under the most difficult circumstances, Tanjore could not supply such talents. War was raging everywhere and the country was exposed to the relentless exploits of the enemy, and there was no capable ruler to meet the danger. Therefore it was felt that the liquidation of the Raj was the best thing that could be done and it was effected at the most opportune time. Thus the Tanjore ruler who was the friend and ally of the Company, whom the Company addressed as 'His Majesty' and whose help they often solicited and were loth to lose in their struggles with the French, became, in course of time, the pensioner of the Company.

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[22] K. R. Subramanyan : *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[23] "This act of the Honourable East India Company might be well called a political atrocity". Hickey : *Tanjore Maratha Principality*. p. 129.

CHAPTER X.

General Considerations on the Maratha Rule in the Carnatic.

The administration of Tanjore by a Maratha dynasty for over one hundred and fifty years resulted in the establishment of a particular type of administration, some aspects of which will be considered in the following pages. It is to be remembered that when the Marathas conquered a region and became its rulers, they did not subvert the prevailing administrative units and introduce their own, but strove to preserve the old ones as far as possible and supplement them with some of their peculiar institutions and rule. It was in this way that Shahji Bhonsle when he was appointed viceroy of the Bijapur conquests in Mysore and in the Western Carnatic, carried on the administration. He was in fact largely responsible for furthering and preserving the old administrative practices in force in his dominions from the Vijayanagara days. While dealing with this aspect of the Maratha rule in the Carnatic, one must take into consideration the specialized training which they had both in the military and in the administrative spheres under the rulers of the Deccan and the Mysore Karnatak for several generations. It was this training which stood them in good stead when in the latter part of the

Introduction.

17th century they acquired the Tanjore Nayak kingdom.

This training which the Marathas had, is traceable in insbriptions from the time of the Yadavas. Among the most important Maratha families which took service under the rulers of the Deccan as soliders in cavalry units or as officials and accountants in the civil administration were the Rāvutas, the Rānes and the Mahāpātres. According to Dr. Saletore the name Rāvuta stood for a Maratha horseman[1], and various inscriptions speak of their military exploits. During the time of the Hoysala ruler Vira Ballala (1173–1220), Bittiga Rāvuta defeated, in 1179 A. D. the troops of elephants of the enemy the Kalacurya King Sankama, and died fighting for his royal master.[2] Another soldier called Jayya Rāvuta, had the same end, while fighting Bokeya Boppa Nayak, an official under the Yadava king Singhana, in A. D. 1224.[3] For the exhibition of

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[1] Ferishta says that the haughty Regent Kumal Khan, desirous of plotting against his royal master, "raised a vast number of G'hora Rawoot, till at length having an army of twenty thousand devoted to his service, he called together his creatures on the 1st of Suffur, in the year 917." Briggs commenting on the words Ghora Rāvut, says: "Maratha horsemen who received their pay annually, and were bound, to appear fully equipped for service whenever called on. They provided their own horses, accoutrements, and arms and maintained themselves." Ferishta: *The Rise of the Muhammadan Power in India*, Vol. III, p. 37.

[2] *Mysore Archæological Report for 1931*, p. 100.

[3] *E. C.* VII. Sk. 248, p. 141.

valour on the battle-field, the Karnataka monarchs conferred titles on these noblemen; for instance, in A. D. 1256, Senapati Allāla Deva received the title of Sarvadhikari Rāvuta from the Hoysala king Somesvara Deva.[4]

The Rānes who received administrative training are mentioned in the reign of the Yadava monarch Ramachandra Deva. One Baluji Devi Rāne of Sāluve was appointed governor over the Nāgarakhandanād in A. D. 1275.[5] The Hoysalas also encouraged the Rānes and many of them were appointed to look after district administration.[6] The Vijayanagar rulers understood the capacity of the Marathas and entertained them in their service on an extensive scale. A most prominent Rāvuta official under Immadi Narsinga Raya in A. D. 1498 was Rāmaiyappa Rāvuta about whom many inscriptions speak.[7] It may be said that it was during the 16th century that the influence of the Marathas in the administration of the Vijayanagar kingdom became very pronounced. Krishna Deva Raya appointed Haridasa Rāvuta in 1519 as a commandant of the hill-fortress of Toragale,[8] while his brother Murari Rāvuta was given command of the fort of Termale.[9] During the reign of

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[4] Ibid IV. Hg. 10. p. 66.
[5] *M. A. R.* for 1911, p. 41.
[6] *E. C.* 11 Hr. 87, pp. 113–4.
[7] *M. A. R.* for 1913, p. 47.
[8] *E. C.* IV Ng. 42, p. 124
[9] *Ibid* XI. Dg. 146, p. 199.

Achyuta Deva Raya, the most favoured Maratha official was Somasila Devu Rahuta Raya who possessed Basavapattana under him,[10] who received as a gift from the Emperor the Terkanambisime[11] and who employed agents to look after his affairs.[12]

Thus it is evident that with the lapse of time, the Marathas came to occupy very important places under rulers who represented the successive dynasties that ruled the Carnatic. The study of Kannada inscriptions "enable us to assert that the Maratha power of the 17th century was but the inevitable culmination of the accumulated political and military wisdom which the Marathas had, for five centuries, gathered under the Hindu rulers of Karnataka, and to some extent also under the Sultans of the Deccan, and which they turned into good account only in the first half of the seventeenth century when they felt themselves confident and strong enough to stand forth as the protectors of the Hindu people."[13] Even earlier, Shahji when he ruled from Bangalore the dominions of the Bijapur Sultanate in the south, had built up an

[10] Ibid X Sd. 22, p. 182.

[11] Ibid IV Ch. 196, p. 24.

[12] *M. A. R.* for 1912–13, p. 48.

[13] A detailed account is given by Dr. Saletore in his article on the "Tutelage of Maharashtra under Karnataka." See *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, 1938, pp. 85–89.

administrative machinery largely on the basis of the prevailing practices. But when the Marathas became the actual rulers of the Tanjore country they permanently established an administrative system, the main aspects of which are described below.

I. Central Government.

(a) *The Ruler*. The Raja was the head of the state and was assisted by a council consisting of ministers and learned men. The power and authority of the ruler invariably depended on his personality; but very often the Maratha rulers were content to leave the administration of the land in the hands of their ministers, devoting their personal attention to the pursuit of learning and the promotion of literature.

"The king of Tanjore" writes Schwartz "is in the estimation of the ignorant, a prince who governs according to his despotic will; but he is, in fact, more a slave than a king."[14] The influence which the Brahmans exercised over the Raja greatly circumscribed his activities, and confined him to the palace only, amidst the members of his huge harem. Not being in intimate touch with the administration and having to depend to a large extent on his ministers, the ruler lost direct contact with his people, with the result that in course of time corruption and misery became the order

[14] Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz*, Vol. I, p. 168.

of the day. Ekoji, Shahji and Sarabhoji I were indeed great men, and to this list may be added Pratap Singh; but the rest of the dynasty were men of mediocre ability, possessing little knowledge about the administration and military technique. The remarks of a historian who lamented over the degeneration that came upon the kings of a great empire may well be applied to this small kingdom also. "The heroes adorn the stage for one generation only and leave no worthy heirs sprung from their loins." The ruler was the final authority in all matters and appeals could be always made to him.

(b) *The Ministers.* The council of ministers which carried on the administration of the country was composed of the heads of the chief departments, the chief justice and the *Purohit* of the royal house. The most important member of the council was the *mantri* or the chief minister who was the adviser of the ruler in all matters. Later on, the office of the *mantri* came to be coupled with that of the *dalavay* who was the commander of the army. On occasions, the office devolved on the son of the previous holder, as in the case of the family of Gangadhara Makhi whose descendants were the *mantris* of successive rulers from Vyankaji down to Tukkoji.

The next important officer of the king was the *dalavay* or the commander-in-chief upon whose ability and skill for successful military

operations depended the integrity of the kingdom. The authority of the *dalavay* varied according to the personality and character of the ruler. His function was to guarantee internal peace and uphold the nation's prestige in foreign relations through diplomatic dealings and military manœuvres. Of the many generals [15] who led the Tanjore army against the enemy, mention must be made of Manaji whose experience and valour[16] won for him the unstinted praise of the English.[17] He had under him a trained army of 3,000 horses and 2000 men with which he was able to resist his enemies and render the utmost help to Stringer Lawrence in his struggle with the French. He was also able to check the depredations of Murari Rao and save the country from the plundering expeditions of that chief. So long as he was the commander of the army, he was a tower of strength to the Tanjore Raja, and therefore the English always tried their level best to keep him on their side.

Sometimes, the offices of *mantri* and *dalavay* were held by the same man who thus monopolised control both of the civil and mili-

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[15] "The skilfulness of your generals and the bravery of your troops is known throughout the country." *Country Correspondence*: Fort St. George 1757, p. 25.

[16] Orme calls him as "the best and the most experienced Sardar in his service." *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 299.

[17] Fort St. George: *Country Correspondence*, 1757, p. 26.

tary sides of the administration. Shahji's minister Baloji enjoyed the two offices; but the most remarkable figure who justified to a great degree his choice both as *dalavay* and as *mantri* was Ananda Rao, the son of Narasimha Raya. Ananda Rao who was also given the title of *Peshwa*, had been the minister successively of Shahji, Sarabhoji and Tukkoji. During the reigns of the last two rulers, Ananda Rao gave ample evidence of his martial valour, and won many a victory against Ramnad and the Tondaiman. This octogenarian in 1734 opposed the combined armies of Madura and the Mughals and died from a poisoned arrow discharged by the enemy.

The *dewan* or the *pratinidhi* who was next in importance to the *dalavay* was mainly concerned with revenue question and its collection. The well-known *dewan*, Dabir Pandit, was an expert in revenue matters and introduced a new system of revenue administration. Bava Pandit, another talented expert in revenue affairs, established in 1781 the *Pattak* system of farming in order to bring under cultivation lands laid waste by Haidar Ali's invasion. The other members of the council were the *sampruti* or the accountant and the *dharmadhikari*. Ananda Rao Peshwa had been first the *dharmadhikari* and then later on became the *dalavay*. The office of *sar-i-khel* came into existence during the time of Sarabhoji I. Ghanasyama Pandita, a voluminous Sanskrit

writer, was the *sar-i-khel* of Tukkoji. But before him lived Aiyavayyan who was *dharmadhikari*, first, and then became the *sar-i-khel* to Raja Sarabhoji I. Later on during the time of Amar Singh, *Sar-i-khel* Shiva Ra became the chief adviser of the ruler and Schwartz painfully depicts the maladministration instituted by him at Tanjore. There also existed the *purohit*, the *chief judge*, and an *amildar* for the capital. The *killedar* was another important official who controlled the Tanjore fort and we have seen how powerful the adventurer Saiyad Khan was in that post which enabled him to decide the question of succession to the throne. There were also spies known as *arrikars*, to supply information to the Raja. Thus there was a well organized administrative machinery to look after the needs of the state and preserve peace and prosperity in the land.

(c) *Character of the government.* It may be doubted whether the Maratha kings of Tanjore with their ministers strove to obtain for their people happiness and good government. One is constrained to remark that their measures led gradually to the decline of the state and to the impoverishment of the land. The process of degeneration was accelerated by the unscrupulous activity of several of the ministers, and by the ravages of external foes all of which brought about the ruin of the country. Some of the rulers were signally

indifferent to their duties and abandoned the entire administrative machinery to be run by the ministers who used their power to enrich themselves and oppress the poor. From the time of Vyankaji down to Amar Singh, we have several instances when actual spoliation of the land and its inhabitants was resorted to by the rulers or allowed by them to invaders. Father Andre Freire's letter of 1682 and Father Britto's letter of 1683 speak about the sufferings of the people due to the tyrannical administration of Vyankaji. His successors were not able to restore the prosperity of the land. There operated a progressive enhancement of the incidence of the land tax; and rulers like Pratap Singh and Amar Singh increased the *kudivaram*. Again, the ravages of Haidar Ali (1769 and 1781) and the miliiary occupation of Tanjore by the Nawab's agents in 1773—76 greatly impaired the economic strength of the people.

While considering this question, the character of the ministers demands some examination. Some of them were men of exceptional ability; but the majority of them fell an easy prey to corruption. They fomented palace intrigues and assisted pretenders to the throne, misused the moneys given to conduct the campaigns, prostituted the interests of the state when bribed, and oppressed the people to enrich themselves. Saiyad, the *killedar* of Tanjore fort, assumed the role of 'king-maker',

and became the most powerful man between the years 1736 and 1739; Manaji the *dalavay* although a brilliant general squandered away the large sums given for military expenditure, quarrelled with Govinda Rao, and was dismissed twice; Sakhoji the *mantri* had an itching palm and was bribed by Dupleix; and *sar-i-khel* Shiva Rao appropriated for himself, during the reign of Amar Singh, the state treasures and oppressed the people. Ruled by weak rajas, and controlled by selfish ministers, and always subjected to foreign invasions which brought along with them plunder and massacre of the inhabitants, it is no wonder that the people groaned under the weight of economic distress.

(*d*) *Local government.* From inscriptions we gather that the old political divisions continued,[18] but for all practical purposes the country was divided into five *subhas*, each under a subhadar. The *subhas* were Pattukottai, Mannargudi, Kumbakonam, Mayavaram and Trivadi. Each *subha* was divided into a number of *simais*[19] and these were again subdivided into *maganams.*[20] Therefore it

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[18] No. 14 of 1920-21 speaks of Pamba Valanadu, a sub-division of Rajendrasola Valanadu. The same records a gift of 45 Rajagopalan Chuckram Pon by the sixteen divisions of Pappakudinadu, a sub-division of Poyyur Kurram, a district of Jayankondanadu. (No. 15 of 1920-21 also gives the same political divisions).

[19] No. 420 of 1918 speaks of Kaderayar as the governor fo Sirgalisimai.

[20] No. 273 of 1911 mentions Kaveripattinam as a maganam of Chaykkadu Simai.

becomes evident that village, *maganams*, *simmi* and *subha* formed the ascending scale of administrative divisions during the Maratha rule of Tanjore. The *subhadar* was a most powerful man for he was not only the controller of the adminstrative machinery of the *subha* but was also in charge of the militaty department. *Amins* were appointed for the collection of revenue, who had power even to imprison a ryot for non-payment.[21]

There were 5753 villages[22] in the kingdom; and each village was a self-contained unit with its establishment which consisted of a *karnam*, a *nirganti* (distributor of irrigation water), a *vettiyan*, a *Talaiyari*, physician, watcher of stray cattle, washerman, barber, carpenter and smith. The village officers enjoyed various privileges and each one had a fixed share in the gross grain produce. Besides paying a number of small taxes to the state, the villages also provided a charity contribution to the temple and agrahara. A record of rights and shares called *nattukkanakku* was maintained in the village. "The Nattuwar or the proprietors of the village, called Mahajana[23] in inscriptions, and claiming a *sambhavana* on marriage occasions even to-day in the Tanjore district, met together in *panchayat* to settle any question arising about the mirasidars' share

[21] K. R. Subramanyan: *op. cit.*, p. 80 Note.
[22] Fullarton: *A View of English Interests in India*, p. 83.
[23] 541 of 1918.

in the produce of land and similar matters."[24] The villages were protected by the *kavalgars* who constituted the rural constabulary. The British Government tried in 1816 to create the office of the village munsiff with police and judical functions, but no respectable ryots would come forward to accept the post. It took a long time for that office to be properly filled and the duties discharged satisfactorily.

(e) *Justice*. The administration of justice should have been rough and ready during the earlier reigns; and the loss of all records before the time of Pratap Singh due to the disastrous occupation of Tanjore by Nawab Muhammad Ali makes it impossible to give a connected account of the judicial system maintained. It was Pratap Singh who first appointed a supreme judge at the capital on a salary of thirty pagodas, with an establishment for the purpose of registering the decrees. There was none to question the judge's authority or over-rule his decisions, although an appeal was allowed to the Rajah, who generally referred it to his *Sar-i-Khel* or some other principal officer, for report. This system of justice prevailed during the whole of Tuljaji's reign; but during Amar Singh's time the judiciary fell a prey to shameful corruption. The ascendancy of Shiva Rao, the *Sar-i-Khel*, brought in its train a tyrannical judiciary and judgments

[24] K. R. Subramanyan: *op. cit.*, p. 81.

were openly sold to the parties[25] Schwartz was astonished at this scandalous dispensation of justice by Shiva Rao, and repeatedly urged upon the ruler the necessity for instituting an efficient and impartial court of justice at Tanjore. He was able to realize his object through the pressure exerted by Sir Archibald Campbell, the then Governor of Madras.

A bench consisting of five judges was created and the procedure comprehended the three distinct stages of complaint, answer and decree. It took cognizance of all civil cases which could not be decided through arbitration; and the judgment was pronounced in open court. The Raja had the power to veto any decision given by the judges. The court was empowered to levy a fee of 5% on all claims of money alone and impose fine to any amount not exceeding 120 chuckrams on cases of disputed real property. The amount thus collected was utilized for the payment of the judges and the upkeep of the establishment. The British Commission of 1798 was much impressed by this newly established judiciary and the efficient and impartial manner in which justice was meted out to the parties.

Out of this nucleus, a well-organized judicial system developed. A study of the

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[25] Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz,* Vol. II, p. 80. "Many complaints have been made with regard to people who have lost their fields and villages by the power which was granted by the Rajah to some of his followers."
Ibid, p. 141.

Modi manuscripts[26] in the Tanjore *Sarasvati Mahal Library* enables one to get a glimpse at this complicated system of judicial procedure after 1800. It seems there were four different courts[27] with separate establishments. An officer called *dapanakarta* was attached to each of these four courts, and his duty was the execution of the courts' decrées. The *dimati* was the officer who signed the court's decree ordering the payment of the amount due to the successful litigant, while the *harkara* was in charge of the attendance registers of each court. Accurate statements were prepared every day regarding the number of cases in arrears, the number taken up and disposed of during the course of the day, and other similar details. Each statement contained the number of the suit, a brief summary of the case and the judgment awarded, along with the details as to the name, address, father's name, caste and occupation of each of the plaintiffs and defendants. The plaintiff and defendant appeared in person before the judges and presented their cases substantiated with all documentary evidence. There was no refund

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[26] These have been studied by R. S. Shelvankar and an account is given in his book "*A Report on the Modi Mss. in the Sarasvati Mahal Library.*"

[27] They were (1) the "*Nyaya Sabha*" which dealt with criminal cases; (2) the "*Mudrita Sabha*" with civil cases, (3) the "*Dharma Sabha*" with religious litigation and temple cases, and (4) the "*Nyayadisa Sabha*" which was the court of appeal from the other three courts.

Ibid, p. 4.

of the court fee[28] when once it was paid, and judgment was delivered after hearing both the parties. The punishments which these courts could mete out included rigorous imprisonment, fines, corporal punishments, and deportation from the capital. Yet another punishment was to take the accused in a mock procession through the four main streets of the city with beat of tom-toms, and corporal punishment was inflicted on him in the locality where the alleged offence was committed.[29]

In villages far removed from Tanjore, if disputes arose between parties and if they did

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[28] R. S. Shelvankar: *Report on Modi Mss.* p. 4.

The scale of court fees was as follows:

Claims under Rs.	Rs.	A.	P.
10	0	8	0
20	1	0	0
50	2	0	0
100	5	0	0
200	10	0	0
500	20	0	0
1,000	40	0	0
3,000	100	0	0
5,000	150	0	0
10,000	200	0	0
20,000	300	0	0
50,000	400	0	0
100,000	500	0	0

[29] R. S. Shelvankar: *op. cit.*, p. 5. There is an instance of how primitive methods were employed for determining whether a person was guilty or not, known to us in the time of Sarabhoji II. *M. E. R.* 1924: p. 11.

Sarabhoji II was noted for his justice. It seems he appointed Pandits, well-versed in *Dharma Sastras* in his courts of justice, and he himself prepared from various *smriti* texts a judicial code for daily use in the administration of justice.

not agree through private arbitration, the *zilladar* stationed at the *kasbah* of each *subha* nominated arbitrators to hear the dispute. The verdict given by this *panchayat* was not final, for an appeal may be made to the Raja. A monthly account of these proceedings in the village tribunals was supplied to the ruler who was the ultimate authority to dispose of appeals from them. Even criminal justice was administered by the Raja who had the power to institute an inquiry into the offence of the culprit; he could afterwards enforce or not the punishment prescribed by the shastras, and this principle, when applied with firmness and a due regard to mercy, was well calculated to prevent the frequent recurrence of crimes. The few instances of capital punishment since Pratap's accession to the *musnud* in some degree justify this opinion.[30]

(*f*) *Police.* The policing of the country was placed in the hands of the rural constabulary known as the *kavalgars*, whose duty it was to prevent the depredations of the plundering tribes like the Kallars that occupied the border districts. They were bound to produce all stolen property or make good its value in money. Under strong rulers the rural constabulary worked with tremendous vigour and thoroughness and the *kavalgars* were "found to perform their duties with wonderful punctu-

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[30] *The Report of the Commission of 1798.*

ality and by an unexampled vigilance to secure the inhabitants in general from loss." They were also authorized to collect the *kist* amounts due to the government from the cultivators, and for this function they were allowed to enjoy certa in privileges in the villages. But with the quick succession of weak rulers and corrupt ministers, the prestige and authority of the central government declined, and this was taken advantage of by the *kavalgars*. "Being naturally of a predatory habit, they presumed to help themselves with impunity, and to make demands upon that property they were employed to protect."[31] Such was the suffering of the people owing to the oppressive system inaugurated by the *kavalgars* that when they appealed to the Sarkar for succour, there was no response because the bonds of cohesion and power which held the kingdom had already been loosened. The Madras Government finally abolished the *kaval* system in 1814 when its wickedness had completely exhausted itself.

II. Finance.

The Tanjore country is the richest region in the south of India; and being watered by the Cauvery, every inch of tract is noted for its fertility and immense yield. Naturally therefore, the revenue realized always stood at a

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31 *Vide The Report of the Commission of 1798.*

high level unless otherwise the awful phenomena of nature devastated the country and drained its resources. Fullarton gives the following description of Tanjore :—"Of these territories, the Rajaship of Tanjore is the most fertile—it is watered by a multiplicity of streams, which, by means of embankments and reservoirs are diverted into every field ;—it annually affords two or three luxuriant crops of rice ;—the forests abound with valuable trees ;—the country is overstocked with sheep and cattle ;—and formerly teemed with an industrious race, who were expert in agriculture, and habituated to manufacture:—while such are the natural benefits it enjoys that no spot upon the globe is superior in productions for the use of man."[32]

During the palmy days of the earlier Maratha rulers the country yielded about seventy-five lakhs of *kalams* of rice worth about eleven lakhs of pagodas ; but due to the succession of weak kings and also because of foreign invasions a progressive dimunition set in, and the country suffered very much.

The most important item of revenue was the tax realized from land, and its administration was not well organized. At the end of the 18th century the *Commissioners* found the amount of the revenue undefined, the rates of assessment irregular, and a uniform spirit of

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[32] Fullarton : *A View of English Interests in India*, p. 82.

independence and resistance among the landlords."[33] The Tanjore country contained 5783 villages; and they were divided into three groups as follows: *Ekabhogam* villages of which the sole occupancy right rested in one individual, numbering 1807, *Palabhogam* numbering 2202, and *Samudhayam* or villages held in common numbering 1774. The prevailing tenures of land were ryotwari, inam and zamindari; and of the entire area of the district *viz.* 23,93,034 acres, 15,91,925 acres or about 2/3 were ryotwari; 6,12,085 acres were inam and 1,89,024 acres were zamindari.[34] The productivity of each village was fixed in terms of paddy reaped as calculated in kalams and after the deduction of the amounts due to the village officers, the temples and the Brahmans, a percentage of the reminder was taken up by the Government. It was not paid in grain, but was converted into money[35] at a commutation price fixed every year by the Government on a consideration of the commercial value of paddy at the time.[36] Schwartz speaks about the system of farming the rights of the revenue collection of districts to the highest bidder and the evil consequences that arose out of this. Heavy demands were made with the result that the cultivator was forced to give 60 or 70% of the yield from land.[37] The King's favourites[38], the Nawab's agents,[39] and the Company's

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[33] *Tanjore Gazetteer*, p. 168.

[34] Venkasami Rao: *op. cit.*, p. 465.

[35] Ekoji, the founder of the dynasty received money payments as revenue. *La Mission du Madure* III, p. 338.

[36] *Tanjore Gazetteer*, p. 168.

[37] Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz*, Vol. I, p. 170.

[38] See *supra*, p. 320.

[39] During the three years (1773–76) when Tanjore was in the hands of the Nawab's men, the whole country was subjected to gross plunder. See *supra* p. 303.

Dubashes[40] who from time to time collected the revenue of the country fleeced the cultivators and thereby grossly maimed the resources of the state.

Fullarton gives the figures regarding the net produce realized, from land during each reign, and a consideration of them shows how the yield gradually declined.[41] The fall in the yield during the time of Sarabhoji I is attributed to the carelessness and mismanagement of his officers, and the subsequant decline was due

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[40] Between 1790 and 1791 the Company took into its hands the revenue collection. Schwartz gives a good picture of how the Company's servants did their duties: "The management of this country has hitherto in fact been that of the renters; for what else were those dubashes to whom whole districts were mortgaged? When these people and their friends were in power, their intention was to get as many villages as they could. As soon as the poor inhabitants failed in their payments they proposed to pay off their arrears to the Circar and to appropriate the village to themselves and their friends, promising to give to the owners some allowance per year.......Some of the dubashes have got two, four, six villages by this artful management, nay it is said that they have made use even of force to gain their point."

Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz,* Vol. II, pp. 137–38.

[41] The country produced under kalams of

	Ekoji	32,050,000	paddy
„	Shahji	„	„
„	Sarfoji	24,000,000	„
„	Tukoji	„	„
„	Baba Sahib	20,000,000	„
„	Sujan Bai	„	„
„	Kattu Raja	„	„
„	Pratap Singh	17,000,000	„
„	Tuljaji	15,000,000	„
„	under the Nawab	17,000,000	„
„	after the restoration (1776)	15,000,000	„

Fullarton: *A View of English Interests in India,* Appendix VI, p. 317.

to various causes. During the years between 1736 and 1739, the Tanjore kingdom witnessed a quick succession of rulers engineered by interested parties, and the weaklings were not able to attend to the needs of the country or look to the administration of the land. Afterwards, when Pratap Singh came to the throne in 1739, he had to face the new danger that cropped up in the shape of the Anglo-French struggles for supremacy in the Carnatic. In fact, he had very little time to attend to state duties, for the various movements made in the political chess-board of the Carnatic absorbed his attention. After his death, the enemies of the Tanjore kingdom gained strength and the plundering expeditions of Haidar Ali and the Nawab drained the resources of the land. There is little wonder, therefore, that the revenue of the state steadily decreased[42].

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[42] The following table gives the revenue received during various years :

Year	Revenue
1759	32 laks of chakrams.
1760	33 „
1761	37 „
1762	28 „
1763	33 „
1771 (First siege of Tanjore by the Nawab's troops)	34½ „
During the Nawab's government.	
1773	33½ „
1774	52 „

1775, the year of the Rajah's restoration, the Nawab received 20 lakhs of chakrams.

Fullarton : *A View of English Interests in India*, p. 222.

and the discontented peasants had to lead a bootless life of disappointment and despair. In order to liquidate the sporadic murmurings of discontent and gain the affection of the people, rulers like Pratap Singh, Tuljaji and Amar Singh increased the *kudivaram*[43] and granted small loans for agricultural improvements.

(*a*) *Revenue Regulations of Dabir Pandit.* It was in the reign of Tuljaji that some experiments were made by his famous ministers, Dabir Pandit and Bava Sahib, to settle permanently the revenue of the land. When Tanjore came into the possession of the Nawab in 1771 he employed Dabir Pandit to make a new settlement; but as a provisional step, he put the country under the *amani* system by which government officials were authorised to supervise the harvesting of the crop, and from the produce thus realized a large percentage was taken by the state. Dabir Pandit introeuced a system[44] which was not followed by the Nawab, for under the *amani* system he was able to get more revenue. Raja Tuljaji, after his

43 "In 1799–1800, in dry grain lands 50 to 60% of the gross produce was allowed to tenants, while a fixed money-rent was collected on other dry products. From river-fed wet lands, the tenants took 40% *pasanam* and 45% *kar*, while they got 50 to 60% from the rain-fed wet lands."

K. R. Subramanyan: *op. cit*, p. 91.

44. Dabir Pandit directed all the cultivators to give him accounts of their produce for the last twelve years, and on the basis of these figures, he prepared what is known as the "Dabir Muri" which contained the amount to be given to the state.

restoration, in 1776 did not accept the Dabir Muri, but continued the *amani* system and allowed his agents to exploit the land. The intense opposition of the people forced Tuljaji to the original method of taking 'the accustomed reputed produce', which consisted in the realization of the revenues 'partly by a rent in grain and partly by a division of the produce by the mirasidars.'

(*b*) *The Pattack System*. Soon Haidar's invasion, besides dislocating the entire administrative machinery, rendered the divisions of Kumbakonam, Trivadi and Shiyali practically barren. In order to restore prosperity to the land, Tuljaji authorised his able minister Bava Pandit, to introduce a new revenue settlement; and this proved an oppressive one in course of time. Villages adversely affected during Haidar's ravages, were combined with more fortunate ones into units called *pattakams* and "these were put under the control of some leading inhabitant called the *pattakdar*, who was selected by the inhabitants and approved by the Government."[45] The resources of the ruined as well as the prosperous villages were united, while the *pattakdar* became the sole manager of the agricultural operations and the receiver of the government share. The new system proved a great success in the initial years and the *Commission* of 1798 were full of

[45] *Tanjore Gazetteer*, p. 170.

praise for it. In fact, Bava Pandit thought of it only as an experimental measure and had no notion of introducing it permanently. But his successor, Shiva Rao, a less gifted man who lacked administrative talents, made the *pattack* system a permanent establishment and this naturally emboldened the *pattakdars* to became tyrannical and oppressive in their dealings with the agriculturists. To perpetrate their predatory practices on the poor peasants, they associated themselves with the *kavalgars*, and far from being the protectors of the village, turned out to be its bloodsuckers. Strange to say, the Raja who had the power to remove these 'caterpillars of the Commonwealth', did not do so, and it was only the British Government which abolished this vexatious system.

The other important revenue next to land-tax, was the duty imposed on the transit of goods. The sea customs revenue was insignificant because all the ports were in the hands of European traders, while the salt-pans in the Raja's country contributed very little to the exchequer since they were all assigned to indigenous religious and charitable institutions. There was enforced the professional tax, while duties were levied on travellers who came into the Tanjore country. "The king of Tanjore insisted on travellers of different cast namely the English, Armenians, Moors, Chittys, Japaneers, Mallabars, Fishers etc., who pass

through his limits from the river Colladam to Coatchery (Koradachery) upon paying customs for their persons."[46] Various other duties existed which greatly handicapped the villagers.[47] The principal sea-ports of the country namely, Negapatam, Nagur, Karaikal and Tranquebar belonged to the European powers and the Rajah's income from them including the inland customs collected from those localities amounted to Rs. 3,467. An undefined system of rates rising sometimes to as much as 12% prevailed. These foreign settlements gave the Rajah stipulated amounts. Negapatam paid 500 chuckrams a year; Karikal Rs. 7,500 and Tranquebar 1000 pagodas a year.

The rates of inland customs, throughout the country, the *Commissioners* say, "have been established in the memory of the oldest inhabitants beyond any period they can calculate upon." These duties were levied on all merchandise and provisions at fixed ports; but the rates varied according to the commodities in question and with the distance of transportation. There were a number of *chawkies* or customs-houses for the collection of these duties; and the right to collect them was leased out in five farms, conterminous with the five *sabhas*, and these were sublet in smaller divisions to under-renters. A register contain-

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[46] *Fort St. George: Country Correspondence,* Public Department 1748, p. 24.

[47] 175 of 1925.

ing the rates of duties imposed on the various commodities was provided in each customs house for the information of the public, and a merchant had the right to seek redress from the head-renter of the *subha*, in case the under-renter imposed extra-duties on his merchandise. All levies newly introduced were publicly made known. "But when instances happen of the merchant being ignorant of any new tax, on representation to the head-renters, he is sometimes allowed a remission or only half customs is collected; but this seems to depend greatly on the pleasure or compassion of the head-renters from whose decision an appeal however be made to the Rajah."[48] The amount of revenue realised from this source in 1795-96 was Rs. 255, 267.

(c) *Expenditure*. The expenditure of the kingdom was spread over such productive items as construction of dams across rivers in order to store water and regulate its supply through the supply channels, as well as making grants to men of learning and endowments to temples. It was with great difficulty that the Tanjore rulers strove to preserve intact the Kaveri dam from injury by any enemy, for on it

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[48] *Commissioner's Report* of 1799. Mr. Harris speaks about this branch of revenue as having been conducted on repressive lines. He says "It would require much time and great labour to describe effectively the abuses and irregularities that prevailed during the Mahratta Government in the Sayer Department." Mr. Harris's letter to the Board, 27th Oct., 1802.

depended the entire prosperity of the kingdom. Its value was well recognized by the Nawab and he wanted to ruin Tanjore by refusing to permit the Rajah to effect the necessary repairs to the dam. Much money was also spent on the military department, for its maintenance became a *raison d'etre* of Tanjore. From the reign of Pratap Singh, Tanjore had perforce to enter into the Carnatic struggles and allow her generals and soldiers to help the English in their fight with the French. At that time the strength of the army was about 5000 strong 2000 infantry and 3000 horses.[49] The cavalry of Tanjore was unique for its battle tactics, and commanded by a general like Manaji, it became a formidable force to be reckoned with. But when the country became a constant prey to external aggression, and when it was forced to pay heavy sums to the Nawab, its crippled resources were not able to cope up with the ever increasing needs of the people. In the reign of Amar Singh, his minister Shiva Rao floated heavy loans without doing any good to the people. But during the palmy days of the principality when it was ruled successively by Shahji, Sarabhoji and Tukkoji, every need of the inhabitants was attended to and the general prosperity was at its zenith.

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[49] Orme: *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 208.

III. The Literary Output of the Period.

The Maratha rulers of Tanjore were great patrons of learning, and their court became the centre of literature and art. Shahji Bhonsle while living at Bangalore invited to his court many learned men, and himself a linguist, encouraged their activities. This tradition was continued by his descendants who ruled at Tanjore; and it was during their time that some well-known literary men flourished who have made the names of their patrons live in the memory of posterity. There was an enormous literary output in Sanskrit, Telugu and Tamil; and it embraced every form of composition : epics, drama, romantic pieces, burlesques, treatises on medicine, astrology and music.

In the annals of Tanjore under the Marathas, the name of Shahji II will ever be remembered as that of a great patron of learning and as one who did his best to encourage scholars to produce imperishable works. No other reign can boast of so much literary output in the field of Sanskrit and Telugu and, to some extent in Tamil scholarship. Shahji's love for learning was so great that in 1693 he renamed Tiruvisanallur as Shahjirajapuram and gifted it to forty-six learned men of his court. "This village was the seat of scholarship in languages, literature and philosophy and medicine throughout the Maratha period and some of the most distinguished men were Telugus."[50]

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[50] K. R. Subramanyan : *op. cit.*, p. 29.

This galaxy of intellectual giants, under the leadership of Ramabhadra Dikshit, embodied their rich ideas in Sanskrit compositions of classical excellence.

(a) Sanskrit.

Ramabhadra Dikshitar and his Compatriots.

Ramabhadra Dikshita was the most important figure in that noble band of fortysix scholars who lived in the tiny village of Shahjirajapuram. Three great masters of learning namely Nilakanta Dikshit, Balakrishna Baghavatpada the Vedantin, and Chokkanatha Dikshit, another erudite scholar, introduced Ramabhadra into the treasure-house of Sanskrit literature. The last mentioned one tended him from child-hood, educated him and finally gave him his daughter in marriage. Ramabhadra mastered the six *darsanas*, made a critical study of the whole of the *Mahabashya* and obtained exceptional proficiency in *Vyakarna* with the result that he came to be known as the 'Modern Patanjali'. Though a native of Kandaramanikkam, a village near Kumbakonam, which had the unique honour of being the birth-place of nine great literary men[51] he removed from that place in 1693 A. D. and became permanently settled in Shahjirajapuram. He was a very prolific writer and there are about thirteen works to his credit, of which the first four are very important, viz.,

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[51] T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri: 'Ramabhadra Dikshita' in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 33, pp. 126-142.

Janaki Parinayam, *Sringaratilakabhana*, *Paribhashavritti Vyakhyana*, and *Shaddarsana Siddhanta Sangraha.*

Among the other scholars, who flourished along with Ramabhadra Dikshita, the most important were Bhaskara Dikshita, the author of *Ratnatulika*, a commentary on *Siddhanta Siddhanjana* a treatise on Vedanta; Venkata-krishna Dikshita who wrote the *Natesa vijayakavya*, *Sri Ramachandrodayakavya*,[52] *Uttarachampu* and *Kusalavijaya Nataka*; Vedakavi who wrote *Jivananthananataka* and *Vidyaparinayanataka*, both of which are attributed to his patron Ananda Raya Makhi; Mahadevakavi of *Adhbhutadarpana Nataka*, and *Sukhasandesa*; Sridhara Venkatesa, known as Ayyaval whose *Sahendravilasa Kavyam* deals with the exploits of Shahji which earned for him a great reputation;[53] Sama Veda Venkateswara Sastrin, a great authority in Sama Veda; and Periappa Kavi whose *Sringaramanjari Shahajiyam*[54] dealt with the amours of King Shahji.

Another important Sanskrit work of this period is *Dharmakuta*[55] in which a new inter-

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52 *Catalogue of Sanskrit* Mss. Vol. 20.

53 It is a historical piece which deals with the usurpation of Ekoji and also with the Mughal siege of Gingee.

54 A *Trien. Cat. of Mss.* Vol. 2, Part I, C (Skt.)

55 This book has historical references. For example Shahji's help to his first cousin Rajaram when the latter was besieged in Gingee by Zulfikar Khan, as also his help to Kilavan Setupati are mentioned.

pretation has been given to the *Ramayana* by the author Triyambakaraya Makhi. The family members of this author were very learned men, for his father Ganghadaramakhi had been the minister of Ekoji. Triyambaka had two brothers; the eldest Narasimharaya Makhi continued after his father's death to be the minister of Ekoji and his son Shahji and wrote *Tripuravijayachampu*; the younger brother Bhagavantaraya was the author of *Mukundavilasa Kavya*, *Uttara Champu*, and *Raghavabhyudaya Nataka*. In addition to *Dharmakuta*, Triyambaka also wrote *Stridharmu*. He acted as minister to Shahji during the nonage of Ananda Rao Peshwa. In 1696 he performed a big yaga which was attended by the great scholar Appa Dikshita of Mayavaram, a contemporary of Ramabhadra Dikshita. At the king's request he wrote the *Achara Navanita*,[56] which was a digest on the law, religion and customs of the country, and took eight years to complete it. Viraraghava, another scholar who lived in Shahjirajapuram wrote *Ramarajyabhisheka Nataka*,[57] *Valliparinaya* and *Parvatistotra*. Nallakavi of Kandaramanikkam was the author of the beautiful drama

56 A *Des. Cat. of Mss.* Vol. 5 (Skt.)

57 A *Des. Cat. of Mss. in the Madras Oriental Library* Vol. 21 (Skt.) p. 8484.

Subhadraparinaya,[58] the *Sringarasarvasvabhana* and *Parimala*. In addition to these, king Shahji himself is credited 'to have written the following works: *Chandrasekharavilasa*, *Sabdaratnasamanvayakosa*, *Sabdarathasangraha*, and *Sringaramanjari*.'

The illustrious example set by Shahji in patronizing men of letters was continued during the the reigns of Kings Sarabhoji I, Tuljaji and Sarabhoji II. Sarabhoji's Dalavay, Ananda Rao encourged learned men, and the famous Vedakavi who lived at Shahjirajapuram along with Ramabhadra Dikshit wrote *Vidyaparinaya* in the name of Ananda Rao.[59] This work is an allegorical drama like the *Prabhodayachandrodaya*, the plot of which is the marriage between the Jivatman or the individual soul and Vidya or spiritual wisdom. The drama is said to have been enacted on the occasion of the festival of the Goddess Anandavalli worshipped in Tanjore. Jagannatha, son of a minister of Ekoji, wrote two works namely, *Sarabharajavilasa* and *Ratimanmatha*.[60] Another important work is *Raghava Caritam*; whose theme is the story of Ramayana, and the colophons in all the twelve cantos save the second, into

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[58] A *Trien. Cat. of Mss.* in the *Madras Oriental Library* Vol. I, Pt. I. C (Skt.)

[59] A *Des. Cat. of Mss.* in the *Oriental Library* Vol. 21, p. 8619.

[60] Hultsch's *Report on Sanskrit Mss.* Vol. 3.

which it is divided, distinctly describe Sarabhoji I as the author of the work.[61]

Tukkoji was a linguist and a great lover of music, and in his work *Sangita Saramrita*, a clear exposition of his mastery in that art is seen. His *Sar-i-Khel*, Ghanasyama Pandita, wrote a commentary on Bhavabhuti's *Uttar Ramacharita*[62], and he claims to have written sixty four works, while his wives Sundari and Kamala composed a commentary on a Sanskrit drama.[63] Tuljaji Maharaja was the author of *Natyavedagama*, *Dhanvantarivilasa* and *Dhanvantarisaranidhi*; he was also a great patron of Telugu learning and the imperishable works of Aluri Kuppana are referred to later. It was due to the endeavours of the scholar king Sarabhoji II who was well-versed in English and in some other European languages, that some of the rarest manuscripts were collected and preserved in the *Sarasvati Mahal Library* at Tanjore. According to Dr. Burnell this library is "perhaps the largest and most important in the world," (1885) and Dr. Buhler

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[61] There is a paper manuscript of this work in the *Sarasvati Mahal Library* at Tanjore. The introductory portion of the work gives the genealogy of the author who most humbly submits his piece for the examination of critics.

प्रौढैः कवीन्द्रैः परिशीलनेन विज्ञायसाहित्य विलास भेदान् ।
करोति काव्यम् रघुवीरगाथा पवित्रितंसैषमुदे बुधानाम् ॥

[62] A *Trien. Cat. of Mss.* Vol. 2, pt. I, C (Skt.)

[63] K. R. Subramanyan: *op. cit.* p. 41.

adds that it "contains a great many useful and a number of very rare or nearly unique books many of which are quite unknown or procurable only with great trouble and expense."†

Sarabhoji made a pilgrimage to Benares, which was then the seat of Sanskrit learning, during the years between 1820–1830, where most of the manuscripts were bought and brought to Tanjore.[64] This king was the author of a number of works in Sanskrit and these include *Kumarasambhavachampu Mudrarakshasachaya*, *Smrtisangraha*, and *Smrtiratnasamuccaya*.

(*b*) **Telugu.**

As the successors of the Nayaks who were great patrons of Telugu learning the Maratha kings also encouraged that language. But these works written by men of mediocre ability, usually lacked that brilliance and sense of appeal so very apparent in the compositions belonging to the Nayakan period. *Kamakalanidhi*, a treatise on erotics and written by Nelluri Sitarama Kavi belongs to the reign of Vyankaji and there it is said that Shivaji conquered the Delhi Padshah and received the title of Emperor. Vyankaji is stated to have defeated the Kings that ruled the country lying

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† See Proceedings of the *Third Oriental Conference*, Madras.

[64] In most of the Mss. it is written in Marathi thus:

हे पुस्तक राज श्री सरभोजिमहाराज साहेबयां च
कारकीर्दीत काशीहुन खरेदीकरूनआणिले असे.

to the south of the Narmada, to have set free the 'Pandya' of Madura (Chokkanatha Nayak) from the yoke of the Mysore Raja and to have ruled the Chola country.[65] Another important Telugu work is *Saharajavilasa Nataka* which speaks about the victory Shahji obtained over the Muhammadans, his capture of Madura, his pilgrimage to Benares and the conquest of all the countries on the way. Some of the royal mistresses were accomplished ladies and they have left a few compositions in Telugu. For example, a courtezan of Raja Pratap Singh, called Muddupalani, wrote the *Radhikasantvanamu*[66] and the *Saptupadulu*[67] dealing with the amours of Lord Krishna. But the most brilliant Telugu scholar of the period was Aluri Kuppanna on whom Raja Tuljaji bestowed the title of *Andhra Kalidasa*. In addition to *Acharyavijayamu* dealing with the polemical victories of Sankaracharya, Kuppanna wrote *Panchanada Sthalapurana*, *Yakshaganas* of the Ramayana and Bhagavata stories; *Parama Bhaghavata Charitam*, *Indumati Parinaya*, and *Karmavipaka*.[68]

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[65] Introduction to *A Trien. Cat. of Telu. Mss.* in the *Madras Oriental Library*, 1916–1917 to 1918–19, Vol. 3 Pt. 2, p. 943.

[66] *A Des. Cat. of Telu. Mss.* Vol. 2, Pt. II, 1927, p. 927.

[67] R. No. 221 (C) of *Tri. Cat. of Telu. Mss.* Vol. III, pt. 2, p. 658.

[68] *A Trien. Cat. of Mss.* 1913–14 to 1915–16, Vol. 2, Pt. 3, No. 138, pp. 439–40.

(c) Tamil

While great encouragement was given to Sanskrit and to a lesser extent to Telugu, it is rather sad to note that the Maratha rulers, following the tradition of their predecessors the Nayak rulers, cared but little for the growth of Tamil literature. Though there was no royal patronge, yet Tamil scholars were helped by the *mutts*, and "many of the works of the period are *sthalapuranas*, digests, commentaries on Saiva and Vaishnava sacred literature and a few *natakas* of inferior quality." Some of the important Tamil scholars of this period are Vaidyanatha Desikar (1680) of Tiruvarur, Swaminatha Desikar, Thayumanavar of Vedaranyam (1700) whose emotional songs are very well known, Arunachalakavirayar (1750) of Shiyali and Sivagnana Swamigal (1785) the Tambiran of Tiruvavaduthurai. *Milalai Satakam*[69] of Sarkara Pulavar who mentions Pratap as the ruler, brings us into touch with another family of Tamil scholars. There is a Tamil manuscript in the *Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library* known as *Advaita Kirtana*[70] which contains historical references. The same library possesses many other Tamil dramas in manuscript like the *Bhuloka Devendra Vilasam*, *Athirupavathi Kalyanam*,

[69] *A Trien. Cat. of Tamil Mss.* Vol. 2, 1913–14 to 1915–16.

[70] *Tanjore Library Tamil Mss.* I, No. 641, p. 510.

Sankaranarayana Kalyanam, *Chandrikahasa Vilasa Natakam*, *Korvanji*, *Vishnu Saharaja Vilasam* etc., all of which are second-rate works, neither interesting nor humorous. Raja Sarabhoji II ordered the collection of old medical treatises[71] and they are preserved in the Library. We have also a few dramas[72] belonging to the reign of Shivaji, the last ruler.

(d) Philosophy

Side by side with the development of the imaginative side of the intellect, its meditative and contemplative aspects were also carefully cultivated, and the influence of philosophy was so profound that even kings became sanyasis towards the close of their lives. Vyankaji threatened to turn a bairagi, and it was only the consoling letter of Shivaji that made him give up his grim determination. Shahji became a *yogi* according to the *Advaita Kirtana*[73] a manuscript in Tamil, and it mentions Parabrahmananda yogi and his disciple Purnabrahmananda as the preceptors of the king. The last mentioned one is identified as Appa Sastri of Kandaramanikkam, author of *Prayaschitta Dipika* and *Upagranthadipa*.[74] According to *Bosalavamsavali*, a Sanskrit manuscript of Shahji's reign, the king's sister became a

[71] Ibid, III Nos. 16, 18, 19, 28, 40, 66, 70, 79, 81-90 and 99.

[72] Ibid, I No. 620, 640, 646, II No. 65 lb.

[73] Ibid, *Tamil Mss.* I No. 631, p. 510.

[74] T. S. Kuppuswami Sastri in *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 33

yogini. Sometime later a Mahatma by name Sadasiva Brahmendra wrote the *Brahmatatva Prakasika*[75] in which he expounded the *Brahmasutras*. We also hear of a succession of *yogis* well-versed in Advaita philosophy and "these assisted the Sankaracharyas of Kumbakonam Pitha in their God-given task of spreading light and dispelling darkness."[76] These Acharyas were greatly respected by the Maratha kings and once Pratap Singh and Dabir Pandit welcomed to Kumbakonam the Sankaracharya of the Kanchi Kamakoti Pita, who had fled to Udayarpalayam due to the aggressive iconoclastic activities of the Musulmans.

The most important Advaita philosopher who exercised a great influence on the generations following him was Krishnananda Sarasvati, the author of *Siddhantasiddhanjanam*. The colophon of the above work informs us that Krishnananda was a student of Ramabhadrananda and that he was initiated into the *sanyasi asrama* by Vasudevendra.[77] Therefore the view of Mr. K. R. Subrahmanyan that Bhaskara Dikshit, who wrote *Ratnatulika*, a commentary on *Siddhanta Siddhanjana*, was the guru of Krishnananda[78] is untenable. The

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[75] No. 7 *Tril. Skt.* series.

Some of the works of Sadasiva Brahmendra may also be mentioned: *Yoga Sustragam*; *Siddanata Kalpavalli* and *Kesaravalli* being commentaries on Apaiyya Dikshitar's *Siddhanta Lesa Sangraham*; *Advaita Rasamanjari*; *Athmavidyavilasam* etc.

[76] K. R. Subramanyan: op. cit., p. 84.

colophon of *Ratnatulika* informs us that he wrote a commentary on Krishnananda Sarasvati's work.[79] Besides this *magnum opus*, Krishnananda Sarasvati is believed to have written a number of minor works on philosophical aspects.[80] Another great philosophical writer was Ramananda Sarasvati, a disciple of Ramabhadra and a younger contemporary of Krishnananda, who wrote the *Siddhantacandrika*, which was an exposition of the quintessence of Advaita Philosophy.

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[77] इति श्रीमत्परमहंस परिव्राजकाचार्य श्रीमत्रामभद्रानन्द सरस्वती गुरुचरण परिचरणावाप्त विद्येन श्रीवासुदेवेन्द्र सरस्वती श्रीचरणप्रसादित परिव्राज्येन कृष्णानन्द यतिवरेण विरचिते सिद्धान्तसिद्धाञ्जने·

[78] K. R. Subramanyan: op. cit., p. 34.

[79] श्रीकृष्णानन्द सरस्वती गुरुचरणारविन्द परिचरण लब्ध विद्यावैचक्ष्यस्य सर्वतोमुखयाजिना भास्करदीक्षितस्य कृतौ सिद्धान्तसिद्धाञ्जन व्याख्यायां रत्नतूलिकायाम् ।

[80] They are nine in number and are named as follows :–

अनुभवत्रिंशच्छ्लोकी a work in 30 verses describing the austere and unruffled state of mind at the time of meditation.

मनःसंबोधनम् an address to mind to abstain from unedifying frivolous tendency.

प्रशमामृतम् on the tranquillity of mind on attainment of eternal bliss.

मन्त्रार्णमुक्तावलिः about the Mulamantra of Dakshinamurthi:

भक्तिविवेचनस्तवः an invocation to God Siva.

मृत्युञ्जयाष्टकम् In praise of Siva.

(e) Music

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries may be said to be the period which witnessed the noon-tide of Carnatic music, and great masters flourished. The famous musical trinity of South India, Thiagaraja, Muthuswami Dikshitar and Syama Sastri, revolutionized the the musical world by their imperishable contributions which are even to-day still ringing in our ears. Living in such an invigorating atmosphere, the Tanjore Rajahs did not fail to encourage that art. In fact, Tanjore may be considered the source and home of Carnatic music, and the Maratha rulers were great patrons of music, and some of the finest musicians adorned their court. During the time of Shahji, Giriraja Kavi was one of the durbar *vidwans*, and he composed Vedantic songs and the popular Telugu dramas known as *Yakshaganas*. Tukkoji was himself a great musician and wrote the *Sangita Saramrita*

मीनाक्ष्याष्टकम् in praise of Meenakshi.

उपदेशदशकम् about the identity of Jiva with Ishwara.

सपर्यापर्यायः A mental worship of Godhead.

At the end of each work is found any one of these colophons :

श्रीरामब्रह्मयोगीन्द्र चरणांबुजरेणुना ।
कृष्णानन्देन मन्त्रार्णमुक्तामालिर्विकृता ॥
श्रीवासुदेवयोगीन्द्रचरणांबुजरेणुना ।
कृष्णानन्देनमुनिना प्रणीतम् प्रथमामृतम् ॥

See P. V. Varadaraja Sarma's article in the *Journal of Tanjore Sarasvati Mahal Library* Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 22-25.

wherein his talents are set forth. Marga Darsi Virabhadrayya, who lived in the reign of Pratap Singh was a gifted Andhra musician, and has many kirtanas to his credit. Another musician of the period was Kavi *Mathru bhutamayya*, and the musical drama, *Parijathapaharanam* is said to have been composed by him. Three great musicians adorned the court of Tuljaji Rajah and they were Ramaswami Dikshitar, Pydala Gurumoorthi Sastri and Pachimiriam Adipayya. The last mentioned was a most remarkable man in the field and a noted authority, and it is said that famous musicians like Ghanam Krishnaiyyar, Syama Sastri, Pallavi Gopalayyar and others sat at his feet and imbibed his teachings. Pallavi Gopalayyar was the durbar vidwan during the time of Amar Singh, and as his name indicates was an expert in *Pallavi* singing. The tradition was continued by Sarbhoji II whose stipendiary life was most favourable for the cultivation of taste and luxury. Being the contemporary of Saint Thiagaraja and himself a great lover of music, he invited the best men to sing in his Neo-Odeon Hall, the Sangitha Mahal.

IV. Social Life

Previous to the destruction caused by Haidar's invasion in 1781, Tanjore was supposed to contain 100,000 inhabitants.[81] The caste-system existed with all its ramifications, and

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[81] Fullarton: *A view of English Interests in India*, p. 84.

Schwartz found it very difficult to proselytize the people. The early establishment of Christian missions in places like Negapatam, Pondicherry and Tranquebar enabled the missionaries to carry on their propaganda in the surrounding parts efficiently. They often quarrelled with the Hindus, especially with the learned section of that community the Brahmans, who had a predominant influence over the Rajahs. Schwartz had to face the opposition, both dialectic and otherwise, of these Brahmans before he could get access into the royal chamber, and he says that it was due to their presence that he was not able to convert Tuljaji. It seems on one occasion, when the Jesuits of Pondicherry enacted a sacred drama in the course of which they broke some Hindu images and trampled them under foot, the Tanjore Brahmans in order to wreak vengeance on them, staged the same performance before Rajah Shahji, and exclaimed that "it is thus that the Christians, to whom you have hitherto afforded protection in your dominion, have insulted and profaned your Gods.'[82] The excited Rajah was exasperated and took to task all the Christians in his land.[83] But it must be said that there

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[82] Hough: *History of Christianity in India*, Vol. II, p. 434 *et seq.*

Lockman writes that the King's council consisted of Brahmans and they egged on the king to persecute the Christians. *Travels of Jesuits* Vol. I, p. 421,

[83] Manucci: *Storia do Mogor* III, pp. 327-332.

prevailed a great amount of religious toleration and the kings were eclectic in their religious patronage.

(a) Foreign Missions

The success which attended the Christian missionaries in Tanjore could not have been obtained if the kings had been either intolerant or jealous of their activities. The Portuguese were the first in the field and they had their factories on the Coromandel Coast, the earliest being San Thome de Meliapur and Negapatam. From the time of Sevappa Nayak (1532) they carried on trade between the outside world and the kingdom of Tanjore with Negapatam as their centre of operations. In 1620, with the sanction of Raghunatha Nayak, the first Danish settlement at Tranquebar was founded, and it was not until 1706 that any attempt was made for the spread of the Gospel among the natives. In that year King Frederick IV of Denmark sent Henrich Plutschau and Ziegenbalg, two German pastors, to Tranquebar who founded here the first Protestant Mission in India. Ziegenbalg mastered the Tamil language and began his preachings in the same in order to make the natives understand the Scriptures. His knowledge of Tamil enabled him to translate the New Testament, compile a Tamil dictionary consisting of 40,000 words and expressions, and compose a Tamil grammar, besides a number of books on Divinity in that language.[84]

[84] Venkasami Rao *op. cit.*, p. 262.

From Tranquebar, the Mission slowly spread along the coast to Cuddalore, Madras, Calcutta and in the interior to Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Palamcottah. Zeigenbalg was succeeded by Grundler, Schultze, and Wiedebrock before Schwartz became attached to the Mission in 1751. Schultze was given permission in 1721 to see the King of Tanjore, Sarabhoji, but could not utilize the opportunity. But Wiedebrock succeeded and King Pratap Singh graciously received him in 1753.

Frederick Schwartz

In the history of Protestant missionary efforts in India, the name of Frederick Schwartz, the German, occupies a prominent position. His importance is enhanced by the fact that he had intimate knowledge of the political activities of the Tanjore country between the years 1762 and 1798, and advised the Company on these matters. After labouring for eleven years in the Tranquebar Mission, he founded the Trichinopoly Mission in 1766. In 1769, Schwartz visited Tanjore and had an interview with Raja Tuljaji who was at that period in the prime of life, and of good natural talents and possessed mild and dignified manners. The Missionary explained to the Rajah the doctrines of Christianity and asked him to embrace the religion. But the presence of Brahmans, those jealous guardians of the King's activities, greatly handicapped Schwartz's attempts. At the

Knig's request he learnt the Marathi language and he knew already Persian and Hindustani.

In 1778 Schwartz made Tanjore his permanent place of residence and here he found a new sphere for the propagation of his faith. The wisdom and learning and the singleness of purpose which the missionary displayed so impressed the Governor of Madras, Sir Thomas Rumbold, that he deputed him in 1779 to undertake a confidential mission to Haidar Ali at Seringapatam in order to ascertain his actual attitude with respect to the English and to assure him of the pacific disposition of the Madras Government. The description given by Schwartz of Seringapatam and of the government of Haidar[85] at a period when he was at once the terror and scourge to the British possessions in India is very interesting. He was much struck by the excellent memory, the capacity for quick despatch, and the potent authority which Haidar Ali possessed. The powerful Mysore ruler was impressed with Schwartz and told him that he was prepared to contribute his quota for the preservation of peace in the Carnatic!

[85] About this the missionary says: "Though Haidar sometimes rewards his servants, the mainspring of action here is terror. Everyone performs his part from a fear, well knowing the consequence of any neglect of duty. Persons of the highest as well as of the meanest condition are punished with the same treatment. The tyrant keeps two hundred men with whips in constant readiness and no day passes without many being chastised."

Pearson: *Memoirs of Schwartz*, Vol. I, p. 315.

We have already seen the warm interest which Schwartz evinced, in the education and welfare of Prince Sarabhoji whom his father Tuljaji entrusted to his care while on his death-bed in 1787. The missionary was mainly instrumental in convincing the Madras Government about the validity of Sarabhoji's claim to the throne and in destroying the pretensions of Amar Singh. But Schwartz did not live to see his pupil ascend the throne; but Sarabhoji's love and affection for him were so great that he made liberal grants for the schools founded by his departed instructor and benefactor. As an enduring mark of his gratitude the Prince erected a marble statue of the missionary and placed it in the Church on the side of the Sivaganga tank.

Schwartz died at Tanjore on the 13th February 1798 to the great sorrow of all and to the agonizing feelings of his pupil Prince Sarabhoji. The love which he bore to his guardian made him give every kind of facility to those converted by him. He established a charitable institution at Kunandigudi which was inhabited by a number of Christians for giving education to them. "He has likewise given orders that his Christian servants, civil and military, should not be denied by their officers liberty to attend divine service on Sundays and festival days, and that they should be excused from all other duty on

such occasions."[86] For Christianity to enjoy so much of liberality the personality of Schwartz alone was responsible. His achievement was something substantial and it had nothing superficial, nominal and transient about it. "Uncontaminated by the venality and corruption which, from various quarters, it is well known assailed his virtue, he continued his missionary life, carrying his cross, and following the steps of his Divine Master to the end of his earthly being."[87]

(b) Charities

It has been the sacred duty of Hindu kings to make large gifts of lands, *agraharams*, and other presents to Brahmans and men of learning. Constructing temples and making endowments to them, digging tanks, building choultries and giving *inams*—these were considered as acts of benevolence intended for the preservation of Dharma in the land. The Maratha kings living in the midst of an intensely religious-minded population and influenced greatly by Brahmans did everything to please that religion and that community. Several *agraharams*[88] were granted to Brahmans and care was taken that no

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[86] *Last days of Bishop Heber*, p. 290

[87] Pearson: *Memoris of Schwartz*, Part II, p. 361

[88] Shahji changed Tiruvisanallur into Shahjirajapuram and granted it for a band of 46 scholars to reside in.

foreigner[89] interfered in the religious activities of these places of life and light. Notwithstanding these gifts, the Rajas built a number of choultries all along the road to Rameswaram in order to feed the pilgrims on their way to the holy place. Some of the choultries were grand institutions handsomely endowed, and besides being feeding-houses they also served as *patasalas* for the education of the young. Eight important choultries had dispensaries attached to them for the treatment of ordinary ailments.[90] In the Tanjore district alone there are sixteen choultries constructed by the Maratha kings from time to time and richly endowed. Of the well-known feeding houses, mention may be made of Pratap's chatrams at Tanjore, Manamelkudi, and Nidamangalam; Tuljaji's at Darasuram, Ammachatram, Rajamatam and Minpesal; and Sarabhoji's at Ortanad, being the largest and the most magnificent of the chatrams, and having an annual income of thirty-three thousand rupees. We do not find these kings constructing new temples as making repairs to them and endowing them with lands[91].

The kings maintained a harem with all oriental ostentation and splendour, and they

89 "In the grants of Karaikal to the French, and Nagore to the English, the Rajas have expressly laid down that the foreigners should not interfere with the *inams* to Pagodas, Brahmans, choultries, water—*pandals* etc."
K. R. Subramanyan, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

90 Venkasami Rao, *op. cit.*, p. 232

91 See grants during Sarabhoji's reign. See *ante*, p. 370.

had legitimate wives and innumerable concubines. From the Tanjore Marathi inscription it becomes evident that Vyankaji had two wives and nine mistresses; Sarabhoji I had three wives; Tukkoji had five wives and six concubines and Tuljaji had five wives. Sarabhoji II and Shivaji went on adding fresh recruits to the Mangala Vilas and the Kalyan Mahal, apartments set apart as the zenana. Some of them like Muddu Palani, a mistress of Pratap, were highly cultured ladies. The kings did not build great monuments to remind posterity about the grandeur of their rule. Some minor repairs to the Brihadiswara Temple at Tanjore were made by Sarabhoji II. The minaret and miniature castle built in 1814 to commemorate the downfall of Napoleon[92], the light house at Negapatam, the beacon column at Point Calimere, and the marble statues of Schwartz and Sarabhoji—these works belong to this period. It is gratifying to note that great precaution was taken for the prevention of liquor traffic,

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[92] This is known as the Manora tower. "It may fairly be assumed that Maharaj Sarabhoji soon after the completion of the tower had the British flag hoisted upon the top of the tower. The hexagonal tower is surrounded by a moat and rampart walls resembling a miniature fort with a draw-bridge over the moat. Accommodation is provided for a good number of officers, soldiers and private servants. Each of the storey of the towers affords fair accommodation. Inside the draw-bridge gate on either side there are wooden racks fixed into the wall with rests for 32 muskets respectively. It is clear that Sarabhoji should have used it occasionally as his summer residence, the building standing just on the beach." S. I. 1925, p. 95.

and a letter of the Faujdar of Trivadi to Charles Floyer asks him to order his men not to enter the limits of the Subah to conduct their trade[93]. Education of the inhabitants was sadly neglected during this period[94] and learning was confined to the Brahman castes who were encouraged by the Kings in various ways. During the time of Sarabhoji, the native medical science was cultivated with much care, while the study of its theory and practice received great attention and medicines believed to be of high virtue were prepared in the palace itself at immense cost. At the instance of Raja Sarabhoji some of the medical treatises were collected and preserved and they are of great value.[95]

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[93] "I must inform you that selling liquors is prohibited in the Sircar's country and as soon the Government of this country was given to me I have strictly forbid of selling liquors in my limits. Now I will take care to take a Penal bond from all the Arrack sellers and put an entire stop to this business. I must desire you therefore to give strict orders to your people not to enter into my limits and molest the inhabitants thereof."

Fort St. George : Country Correspondence, Public Department, 1748. p. 24.

[94] "Under a frame of Government so wretched, the education of the young is miserably neglected. Few children learn to read, write and cast accounts and they are exclusively boys."

Pearson : *Memoirs of Schwartz*, Vol. I, p. 170.

[95] *Tanjore Library Catalogue of Tamil Mss*, Vol. III. Nos. 16, 16, 19, 28, 30, 40, 66, 70-79, 81-90 and 99 deal with medicine.

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